United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records

11th PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 30 September 1993 at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: INSANALLY
(Guyana)

The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

ADDRESS BY MR. LENNART MERI, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will first hear an address by the President of the Republic of Estonia.

Mr. Lennart Meri, President of the Republic of Estonia, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Estonia, His Excellency Mr. Lennart Meri, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President MERI: Before commencing my address, I would like to express, on behalf of my nation and myself, my sincere sympathy with the people of India on this day of great tragedy.

Let me convey to you, Mr. President, my congratulations on your election to the presidency of the United Nations General Assembly at its forty-eighth session. Your election is a fitting tribute to your personal and professional qualities, and also to your country, the Republic of Guyana. As an Estonian, I have a special empathy with your homeland: much like Estonia, your country was liberated from colonial dependence and became a Member State of the United Nations. Like Estonia, your country remembers that independence is the decisive factor which permits small countries to share with great Powers equal responsibility for creating a better world, towards which all of us, seated here in this Hall, are striving.

To your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Stoyan Ganev, I express my recognition for his proficiency in chairing the forty-seventh session. We also express our deep gratitude to Mr. Ganev for visiting Estonia and her sister States Latvia and Lithuania, and for his efforts to apply the moral authority of the United Nations towards removing the remaining vestiges of colonialism from the Baltic States.

To our neighbour in the General Assembly, the State of Eritrea, I express my sincerest welcome and congratulations on its finally joining the family of nations.

I would, however, like to take this opportunity to extend especially warm thanks to the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who has given the United Nations and the whole world new hope through his strong moral conviction that we need not passively wait for conflicts to arise, but that conflicts should be prevented from arising; that the United Nations is, in the first place, an architect, whose building must not be allowed to be engulfed in flames; that the Organization is only secondarily a fire-fighter who rushes to extinguish fires still burning from the past. This is so even and perhaps especially when, metaphorically speaking, it happens that only a poor man's cowshed has caught fire - for after all, that was enough to burn down all of Chicago.

This record is subject to correction.
Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, Room C-178, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session in a consolidated corrigendum.

93-86680 (E)

Distr. GENERAL

A/48/PV.11
18 October 1993

ENGLISH

Let me express my appreciation and gratitude for Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali's radiant moral sense of responsibility and for the steadfastness with which he has defended the principle of preventive diplomacy. As a small State, Estonia well understands and desires to support the Secretary-General fully in his defence of the purposes and principles of the United Nations and in the implementation of preventive diplomacy.

Three years ago, in 1990, I visited the New York meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as a foreign minister whose entry into the conference room was strictly prohibited. I was interviewed by television journalists in front of United Nations Headquarters, as chance had it. I stated then that the next time I would be here it would be for the raising of the Estonian flag. The journalists did not even attempt to hide their polite sympathy nor their desire to bring the interview quickly to an end. Did they even attempt to present such an "unrealistic" interview on their television programme?

One year later, in September 1991, I watched the raising of the Estonian flag on a United Nations flagpole and concluded that my mission had been completed. Today I am here to tell the Assembly, and perhaps also those sympathetic journalists, that my work as the first democratically elected post-war Estonian President has only just begun.

Today my words are infused with self-confidence and hope. Estonia has been and is once again a State; Estonia has re-established its place under the sun. In this sense we share common attributes, experiences and goals with the vast majority of States represented here today. The majority of the States Members of the Assembly are only slightly larger or slightly smaller than Estonia, with its 47,000 square kilometres and 1.5 million inhabitants living on the shores of the Baltic Sea. Estonia was robbed of its independence and forced to be the colonial subject of an imperial Power, as was the case with the majority of the Members here today. Just as they did, so have we restored our independence at the cost of untold suffering. For Estonia, as for most of the Members here, this work is still incomplete. The United Nations General Assembly is the best place for uniting our forces, so that we can work together.

This however requires that the Second World War finally end for Estonia. For the Second World War is still continuing in Estonia in a rather peculiar way, because the foreign armed forces which occupied Estonia in 1940 still remain on our territory, regardless of General Assembly resolution 47/21. Estonia has for two years patiently conducted negotiations on the withdrawal of these forces, but without positive results. Of course, we were aware that behind this rigid position stood the Soviet *nomenklatura* and the Russian so-called parliament, which acted on the basis of the Brezhnevite Soviet so-called constitution and whose goal was to restore the Soviet Union in a modernized form. President Yeltsin was a prisoner of this imperialistically minded parliament.

For this reason, we consider the present moment especially opportune for President Yeltsin to strengthen the world's confidence in democracy by withdrawing the remaining armed forces from Estonia and Latvia and by signing international agreements to this effect. This would guarantee stability and security for the Baltic region, which is an inseparable part of Europe's Nordic region - and that region, in turn, is an inseparable part of Europe.

In my correspondence with President Yeltsin I have emphasized my readiness to meet him in the nearest future. I would be grateful to the General Assembly, to the Security Council and to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali if, with all their collective moral authority, they would help us rapidly to cut this Gordian knot. This is, after all, not only a problem for Estonia, Latvia or Lithuania: with this effort they would also be supporting the democratization of Russia. With the implementation of preventive diplomacy, they would be removing a potential source of conflict and would thereby strengthen the prestige of the United Nations itself. And last, but not least, by implementing international law equally in the interests of great Powers and of small States they would give back to all of us the hope that, even in terms of *realpolitik*, justice is singular and indivisible.

The United Nations could mandate such a mission, to be led by an authoritative European politician, one in whom both Russia and the Baltic States could feel equally confident. The time is ripe for action. The rapid preparation of an international agreement is in the interests of both sides. When two years of negotiations conducted between a great Power and a small State remain unproductive, it is a sign of danger. Preventive diplomacy consists in the ability to recognize danger signals at an early stage and resolve them in a lightning-rod fashion. This is our first problem and our primary task.

At different stages, two different arguments were used in stalling and detouring the negotiations. First, the Russian side claimed it would be unable to find housing for forces withdrawn from the Baltic States. From a legal

standpoint, this argument lacks any content whatsoever. The stationing of foreign forces on the territory of a sovereign State against the express will of that State and its people is in contradiction with international law and cannot be an item for negotiation. At the same time, I would like to repeat again that Estonia is ready, together with its Nordic neighbours and other partners, and to the extent that its resources permit, to assist in the solution of this essentially humanitarian problem. We are grateful to our friends, who have promised housing construction aid in excess of $200 million, and we are prepared, with the help of these partners, to mobilize our construction industry towards this end. We have on several occasions publicly repeated and confirmed this readiness to our Russian partner.

The second argument for the maintenance of foreign armed forces and their installation on the territory of the Baltic States is in a curious way linked to human rights. According to this line of thinking, which has been promulgated primarily in the Western media, the continued presence of ex-Soviet armed forces in the Baltic States is required for the defence of the human rights of the Russians residing there. However, the Russian residents of Estonia have never supported this argument, since they have not wished to become pawns in a political game.

In this connection, I should like to take the opportunity to thank you, Mr. President, and you, Mr. Secretary- General, for the assistance of the United Nations. The Republic of Estonia had already enunciated, during the time of the League of Nations, and now it does so even more clearly, the basic principle that human rights are not the "internal affair" of any State. For this reason, on the question of human rights in Estonia we turned for expert opinions and advice not only to the United Nations, but also to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Council of Europe and the Nordic Council. Thus, I can confirm that not one of the 15 missions invited by Estonia to inspect the situation firsthand has found human rights violations in Estonia. This has also been emphasized by many speakers during this General Assembly session. It was also, I am happy to note, emphasized by President Clinton in our recent meeting.

I am disappointed that the idea of human rights - which, for Estonia, is self-evident and sacrosanct, and for the lack of which Estonians themselves, during five decades of Communist totalitarianism, had to pay with the loss of their pride, their freedom and their blood in Soviet and Nazi concentration camps - has been cynically exploited. The Republic of Estonia was the first State in the world to guarantee Jews and other minorities, as early as 1925, the right to cultural autonomy. Estonia will never stand idly by while anyone tries to manipulate human rights. For this reason, Estonia supports the creation of the post of a United Nations high commissioner for human rights and the expansion of the United Nations budget earmarked for the defence of human rights.

We wish to work to defend the human rights of all indigenous peoples. We defended the rights of some Siberian peoples during the decades of Soviet totalitarianism, although we had to do it alone and quietly. Now we intend to join forces and to do it, with the help of the United Nations, publicly.

I like to speak of the future in optimistic terms on the assumption that we are capable of finding resolutions to our pessimistic present, or to be more precise, that we are capable of applying these resolutions, since they are already outlined in Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali's report "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277). Allow me, Mr. Secretary-General, to thank you wholeheartedly for the clear analysis and sober recommendations on the implementation of such key concepts as preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping. The tragedy in Yugoslavia has reconfirmed the fact that fire-fighting is much more difficult than fire-prevention. This lesson, which is written in the Torah, the Bible and the Koran, is, thanks to the Secretary-General, now slowly penetrating the consciousness of international organizations. Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping can be a real hope for the United Nations on the condition that we learn to recognize danger, where and when it becomes manifest.

However, in a potential zone of conflict, peace-keeping must be strictly neutral. We must remember the proverb that "You should not let a fox mind the henhouse", that peace-keeping in a particular area cannot be turned over to those parties that have an obvious interest in the outcome of a conflict. Estonia supports the principles of democracy, the inviolability of borders and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and in other international agreements. Consequently, we were disturbed - as, I am sure, many representatives were - by the suggestion of one national representative that the troops of one country should be allowed to intervene up to the borders of a State that no longer exists. I do not have in mind the former Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Estonia can only support a position whereby the choice of peace-keeping forces by the Security Council meets the approval of broad international opinion. On this condition, Estonia also feels a moral responsibility to participate in international peace-keeping according to its capabilities, as well as in other related activities.

This brings me to the consolidation of democracy and the free market economy in Estonia after 50 years of an absurd colonial command economy. Estonia has already been successful, but, together with other Members of the Organization, we could be even more successful. Democracy and the free market economy are interconnected, because they presuppose the right and the responsibility to freely choose. The former Soviet Union spent more money on repressing free thought than it ever did on the creation of a nuclear arsenal. The murder of freedom and the birth of aggression are two sides of the same coin. The first enemy of every totalitarian regime is the domestic enemy, and its first object of attack is free thought. Everyone present knows Adam Michnik's wonderful metaphor about how easy it is to make fish soup from an aquarium, but how difficult it is to make an aquarium from fish soup.

The main resource from which we have drawn the energy for the transformation of Estonia's economy has been the idealism of the Estonian people. This is a large resource, but it is not endless. I want to prevent exhaustion from setting in, exhaustion which could be followed by political apathy and thereby by a desire to be free both of rights and obligations. The replacement of a command economy by a market economy is a disintegrative process both at the State and individual level as long as the market has not started working. Once the market is working, it works for economic and political integration. Therefore, Estonia is more interested in trade, not aid, and therefore we work actively to keep and expand our free trade agreements through negotiations with Brussels.

My aim has been to suggest that the international community has gained new members - the countries in transition. Here the question arises whether the United Nations has realized our special possibilities and our special needs. Estonia does not belong in either the first, second or third world. Do we really need a fourth world, or do we need the ability to react more sensitively to a world which is in constant dynamic change?

I offer as an example an issue that is as unpleasant to the Assembly as it is to me: the division by 15 of the financial commitments of the former Soviet Union, including its United Nations assessment. Estonia has stated repeatedly, and I do not hesitate to state here again, that we cannot and we will not accept this, as we were never legally part of the Soviet Union. Times have changed; our world community must realize this.

We also feel a responsibility to assist others as we have been assisted during the past few years. While Estonia is still reeling from the disastrous consequences of a 50-year occupation, we do have well-educated specialists who could be of service to the United Nations in parts of the world where their skills would be welcome. And I should like to offer the experience we have gained in starting up a country and in creating a new, stable currency.

Allow me to close with some very personal comments. The United Nations is approaching its fiftieth anniversary. The post-war world is approaching its fiftieth anniversary. The United Nations is acting on the basis of an unaltered Charter. But, as I mentioned above, the world has been altered totally. This ever-increasing contrast is most strongly felt by some of the most sensitive United Nations Members, the majority, the small States. I believe that small States have the obligation to redefine the international order. The large nations have the larger obligations, the small States the larger possibilities. This is not a contradiction, but a balance. After all, an Inuit kayak can change its course immediately, while a supertanker needs perilously much time and space to do so.

The best place to redefine the world order is the General Assembly of the United Nations. I am deeply grateful to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali who, sensing this need, has entrusted into our hands his vision of a stable world, entitled "An Agenda for Peace". As a representative of one of Europe's smallest countries and oldest nations, I should like to suggest that the prevalent tendency of the past century, and especially the past decades, has been an increase in the numbers of small countries and a reduction in the number of large ones. The issue of increasing the number of permanent members of the Security Council has been introduced into the agenda, and Estonia supports this as a step towards accepting today's new realities. Personally, I should like to put to you, members of the General Assembly, the following question: should the Security Council not also include as a member with veto power a representative of the world's majority, the small nations?

I do not have an answer to this question and neither do you. This is not tragic. The opposite would be tragic.

Seeking for answers is the United Nations future and our common hope. Today we speak of the fatal differences between cultures. Thereby the inevitability of conflicts is suggested.

Conflicts are not fatal only because someone believes in Buddha, another in Jehovah, another in Christ or Allah or the shamans of Siberia. Cultures have to be different to allow man, with his rights and duties, to look like man, to look like hope. The day before coming here I read a book by the famous Finnish philosopher Matti Kuusi on what hope means to man. The Mexican says that you cannot fill your stomach with hope, but it will keep the soul in your mouth; a Kanuri African will say that hope is the pillar; the Filipino says that daring is the fruit of hope and the Maltese says that he who gives up hope dies.

This diversity is the unity of mankind. And to make it easier for you to keep the unity of man and the world, I will add for salt, pepper and enjoyment a proverb from my shores, the shores of the Baltic: do not lose your hopelessness. Hopelessness is the inevitable shadow of hope, and the ever-persevering United Nations is the collective hope of mankind.

I thank you for your hopeful patience.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Estonia for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Lennart Meri, President of the Republic of Estonia, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 *(continued)*

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. ZLENKO (Ukraine) *(spoke in Ukrainian; English text furnished by the delegation):* In joining my colleagues in congratulating you, Sir, on your election to the high and responsible office of President of the General Assembly, I should like to point out that it is a great honour for a politician and diplomat to guide the work of this universal forum representing practically all the States of the world. I hope that your activities in this important position will promote substantive discussions at this session and the adoption of constructive decisions, and that the work of the forty-eighth session will become a memorable page in your biography.

At the same time, I should like to thank Mr. Ganev, President of the previous session of the General Assembly, for his contribution to the Assembly's work.

Soon we shall commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Teheran Conference, whose decisions laid down the foundations of the United Nations. It was 50 years ago that the participants in that Conference, while discussing the issue of creating an international organization, expressed confidence that the accord among them would ensure lasting peace, and declared the lofty responsibility of all the United Nations in safeguarding peace for succeeding generations.

As long ago as 1918, an outstanding Ukrainian politician and writer, Mikhail Hrushevskiy, stated that "Properly creating history is more important than depicting it positively".

We are proud of the fact that Ukraine took an active part in laying down the foundation of the Organization and that today, along with other members of the international community, it is making a worthy contribution to attaining the noble goals of the United Nations. To our mind, the major result of nearly 50 years of the Organization's existence is the fact that world war has been averted. This is to the credit of the United Nations, a universal forum of States, a unique Organization without which it is impossible to imagine present-day international relations.

Today, when the new dominant feature of international relations is the transition from bipolarity to a qualitatively different world order based on comprehensive security and a balance of interests, the world is witnessing the second birth of the United Nations. For Ukraine, it is of special significance that the United Nations renaissance coincides with the building of our independence, our regained statehood and the revival of Ukraine as a sovereign participant in European and world politics.

For Ukraine, which today is trying to find its place in the world balance of power, its United Nations membership is one of the most important international guarantees of its national security and independence. After the disintegration of the USSR and the disappearance of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, our country is compelled to exist next to a zone of decreased stability and of alienation and even tension, irrespective of who is the initiator and what is the subject of discord. Ukraine finds itself in the epicentre of almost all European developments: every crisis emerging on the continent may affect us in one way or another.

These factors led to the initiative by Mr. Leonid Kravchuk, the President of Ukraine, concerning the creation in the Central and East European region of a space of stability and security which would include all countries in the Baltic and Black Sea zone and that would become, in the future, an integral part of the European system of security. At the same time, this Central and East European space of stability and security would be a reliable link for developing a broad-based transatlantic system of security taking in the area from Vancouver to Vladivostok, that is, the whole region covered by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Implementation of this idea would be a worthy contribution to preventive diplomacy.

The basic prerequisite for the creation of such a space might be the implementation of the principle of security for oneself through security for all, the main goal of which would be the development of a system of international relations in the region that would rule out threats to peace and stability such as those emanating from the present conflicts on the territories of the former Yugoslavia and USSR.

Ukraine is capable of playing a constructive role in the formation of such a system. As a State which is situated in the centre of the European continent and possesses vast human resources and scientific potential and a strong industrial and agricultural complex, Ukraine is ready to contribute more to the formation of a new, prosperous Europe. In accordance with the principles of a new Europe, we aspire to build a democratic State of law that is economically strong, politically active, peaceful and, in the future, non-nuclear along with others, in which individual rights are respected and guaranteed regardless of nationality or other distinctions.

In this context, I should like to dwell on the problem of nuclear weapons on the territory of Ukraine. As is well known, we inherited from the former USSR a huge nuclear arsenal, the third largest in the world in terms of its combat potential. The declaration on the State sovereignty of Ukraine proclaimed the intention of our State to become non-nuclear in the future.

And this is not a mere declaration. Ukraine is doing as much as it can towards its implementation. The dismantling of the strategic missile complexes has started. An agreement has been signed with Russia on the utilization of the strategic missiles' nuclear warheads. We do not exclude the possibility of conducting negotiations on this subject with a third party.

However, the full-scale implementation of the nuclear disarmament programme is linked to the need to solve a number of problems. Where do we get the money to dismantle and eliminate the strategic nuclear weapons located in Ukraine? According to our estimates, approximately $2.8 billion are needed for these purposes. How do we ensure reliable guarantees of national security for our State?

There arises also the problem of returning to Ukraine - or obtaining compensation for - nuclear components, obtained from nuclear warheads, which, after reprocessing, can be used as fuel for nuclear power stations. This also applies to the nuclear materials extracted from the warheads of tactical missiles removed from Ukraine in 1992.

And finally, what should the thousands of servicemen dismissed from the missile forces do? We have no complete answers to these and other questions; so far the promises of help exist only in statements and on paper.

The *Verkhovna Rada*, the Ukrainian Parliament, is deeply involved in these questions and is looking for opportunities to adopt balanced decisions, in the shortest possible time, taking into consideration the interests both of Ukraine and of the international community as a whole.

At the same time, I should like to stress that while considering this issue we should also take into account the external situation. For today, instability and internal struggles in neighbouring countries sometimes spill over their frontiers and threaten Ukraine's national security and territorial integrity. This is most especially so in the case of the well-known decision by the, now former, Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation concerning the status of Sevastopol. There have also been attempts to question the status of Crimea as a whole. In this connection, I should like to state explicitly that the Republic of Crimea is an inseparable part of Ukraine. Crimea, as a part of Ukraine, could play an appropriate role in the region and make a decisive contribution to consolidating the Black Sea region as a zone of peace and stability. In this context, I should like to express profound gratitude to all the countries, especially to the members of the Security Council, that gave their unambiguous assessment of the illegal encroachments upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine and manifested their support for our State. Again, we are convinced that the complicated issues of inter-State relations can be solved only through firm and energetic action on the part of the international community.

In our opinion, the objective basis for cooperation between Ukraine and other countries lies in the formation of a stable and secure system of international relations. In the present circumstances, the basis of this system is respect for the principal postulates of international law, according to which the inviolability of the frontiers and territorial integrity of sovereign States is recognized as one of the prerequisites for international peace and security. The former empires have vanished, and like them imperialistic thinking, such as unilateral interpretations by certain States of legal succession issues and their other actions that are incompatible with the norms and ethics of international relations should also disappear.

We hope that an understanding of contemporary realities will facilitate the further normalization and development of Ukraine's relations with other countries on terms of mutual respect, a balanced search for compromises and the renunciation of extreme rhetoric. Genuine conditions for such developments are already in existence, and it is a worthwhile task to use them to foster mutually beneficial economic relations and to ensure wide-ranging contacts between peoples.

Ukraine, as one of the founders of the Commonwealth of Independent States, is actively developing cooperation with the CIS countries. We regard the Commonwealth as an international mechanism for multilateral consultations and talks that is contributing to the process of forming qualitatively new full-scale, bilateral relations between participating States and is promoting solutions to the problems that they face after the disintegration of the USSR. Our relations with the Baltic States are developing in a positive way.

Ukraine unswervingly supports the efforts of the world community to find a formula for settling the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. We consider that a real solution to this problem is possible only through taking into account the interests of all States in the region, and those of ethnic communities, on the basis of the relevant decisions by the United Nations Security Council and of the cornerstone principles of international law.

We take it as given that all countries involved in the attempt to settle this conflict, and the relevant international structures, must approach the issue very carefully, especially when the use of force is implied. It must be borne in mind that the use of force might lead to extremely undesirable consequences, frustrate the negotiating process and result in an escalation in the conflict and its spread to other areas of the former Yugoslavia.

Our position on the settlement of conflicts on the territory of the former Soviet Union is similar. In this connection, we should like to welcome the role played by the United Nations and the CSCE in Transdnestria and the joint efforts of the international community in searching for ways to stop the bloodshed in Nagorny-Karabakh.

Tragic developments have taken place in Georgia. Signed agreements have been violated, the bloodshed persists and people continue to perish. As long ago as 21 September, Leonid Kravchuk, the President of Ukraine, appealed to the President of the Russian Federation, which is a guarantor of the tripartite truce agreement of 27 July 1993, and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to take all possible measures to stop the escalation of the conflict and to activate the mechanism contained in the agreement. Regrettably, the attempts to stop the dangerous developments have been frustrated and the situation is running out of control, threatening the stability of the Caucasus region as a whole. The international community should immediately call on the potential of the United Nations Charter in order to bring the situation back onto a course of settlement through political dialogue.

At the same time, I should like to draw attention to a truth that is as old as the hills but which is regrettably often forgotten: preventing disease is much cheaper and more effective than treating them. A similar idea was expressed yesterday by Mr. Kinkel, my colleague from Germany. An emphasis on active, preventive diplomacy that would forestall conflicts should become the dominant feature of contemporary international relations. The fact that the issue of Sevastopol was addressed at a meeting of the United Nations Security Council, the activities of the CSCE missions in Kosovo, Sanjak and Vojvodina, and the deployment of United Nations military contingents in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia are, to our mind, good examples that illustrate this truth.

In fact, reviving the peacemaking activities of the United Nations has become one of the more vivid examples of the transformation in United Nations political thinking, and is embodied in the conclusion that diplomatic language should replace the language of the gun in inter-State communication.

Ukraine is taking an active part in this process. More than a year has elapsed since a Ukrainian battalion was sent to the former Yugoslavia to participate in the United Nations peace-keeping forces. From the point of view of Ukraine, as a new and independent State, the multilateral peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations remain the

Organization's most effective instruments in its performance of its major function, the ensuring of international peace and security. Ukraine is ready to continue active participation in the peace-keeping activities carried out under the auspices of the United Nations or the CSCE.

The prestige and authority that Ukraine has gained as a result of its participation in United Nations peace-keeping operations have not come easily. Lately, human losses among peace-keepers from the United Nations Blue Helmets have increased. The rise in the number of peace-keeping operations and their expansion may result in further losses. That is why it is our belief that it is urgently necessary to work out a document to define the status of United Nations peace-keeping personnel and to make provision for a mechanism to protect them. This would be a logical development of the provisions of resolution 47/72, adopted by the General Assembly at the initiative of Ukraine, with sponsorship by over 50 States, and of the relevant Security Council resolution, resolution 868 (1993) of 29 September 1993.

Ukraine is interested in strengthening peace, security and stability in the nearby Middle East region and welcomes the decisions reached between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization on mutual recognition and the agreement on Palestinian self-rule in the Gaza strip and Jericho signed on 13 September in Washington. The first, important step has thus been taken on the road to a complete settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Ukraine welcomes the developments in South Africa, which make it possible to lift economic sanctions against that country. We hope that wisdom and a balanced approach by all the participants in the negotiating process in that country, and active work on the part of the Transitional Executive Council, will become a solid basis for the successful holding of elections and the formation of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

Our State is paying great attention to the experience of the countries of the Asia-Pacific region. The extraordinarily fast pace of developments in some of the countries in this region is evidence of the effectiveness of pragmatic approaches to solving complex political, economic and social issues.

The process of a practical development of relations with the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries has been initiated. We see this grouping as potentially one of the best trade and economic partners for Ukraine, inasmuch as trade between the ASEAN States - and the region as a whole - and the countries of Eastern and Central Europe flows through Ukrainian ports.

We shall facilitate by all possible means the development, and the maintenance on the proper level, of relations with the States of Europe, North and South America, the Middle East and Africa.

I should like to dwell briefly on the present-day situation in Ukraine. Frankly, we are experiencing difficult times now. In addition to the establishment of our own State and the rebirth of our national culture and spirit, we are undergoing a transformation to a new system with new civic and economic parameters. Our scholars, specialists and statesmen have not yet succeeded in proposing a programme of economic reforms in keeping with Ukraine's real potential, its historical traditions and the mind-set of its people. And now we have to make major adjustments to the procedure and sequence of the reform process.

Our goal is a market, socially-oriented economic system, directed at meeting the needs of our people. It should take into account economic interrelations that were, objectively, formed in the CIS, opportunities for foreign investment in our economy, and a step-by-step integration of the Ukrainian economy into that of the European Community and the world.

Important steps have been taken in this regard. By adopting a law on ownership, the *Verkhovna Rada* has opened the road to privatization as the principal means for the transition to market-based economic relations. Important documents have been approved concerning the denationalization and privatization of enterprises, land and housing. Ukraine has declared its intention to become an associate member of the CIS economic union, and is engaged in active negotiations within the framework of the Commission of the European Communities.

However, the situation in the State remains extremely complicated.

In overcoming the crisis, the international community, including our compatriots abroad - the representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora - could play an important role. Our legislation sets out favourable conditions for foreign investment in the Ukrainian economy, and a number of measures have been adopted concerning participation by our State in the European and world communities and the development of bilateral trade and economic relations.

It is important to find areas that could appeal to our partners and to proceed to develop and implement specific cooperation programmes and projects. An example of this kind of cooperation can be seen in the activities that we have initiated with Commission of the European Communities and in the framework of the Black Sea economic cooperation.

We are also ready to participate actively in carrying out the economic programmes being implemented within the framework of the United Nations.

In this context, we are heartened by the increasing attention being paid by the United Nations and its bodies and by the economically developed countries to the processes of transition to the market economy being undertaken in the Eastern and Central European States. Favourable conditions for broadening cooperation between the United Nations and States with economies in transition, including Ukraine, have opened up as a result of the formation of integrated missions by the United Nations and the United Nations Development Programme in this field. We hope that these missions will be given permanent status.

We place great hope in assistance by the international community in mitigating the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster. I must say that after the appointment of United Nations Under-Secretary-General Mr. Eliasson as the United Nations Coordinator of International Cooperation for Chernobyl, activities in this area have acquired new impetus. I hope his efforts will find support in the General Assembly and will contribute to strengthening international cooperation for this purpose.

In addition to the expenditures needed to mitigate the after-effects of the Chernobyl disaster, which account for a considerable part of the national income, the losses resulting from the imposition of economic sanctions by the Security Council against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have become another great negative factor for our economy. Consequently, by the end of 1993, Ukraine will have suffered direct losses of more than $4 billion in the State sector alone.

Today we need real efforts on the part of the international community to assist Ukraine in overcoming the negative impact of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Ukraine's economy as well as on the economies of a number of other countries. Our delegation is ready to propose a draft resolution which would deal with the implementation of the relevant recommendations of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

Regretfully, the serious economic difficulties associated with the factors that I have mentioned were not taken into consideration when the international community last year adopted the decision, contrary to the provisions of the United Nations Charter, to increase Ukraine's contribution to the United Nations regular budget by 58 per cent. The assessment imposed on Ukraine is not fully commensurate with its capacity to pay, and is a great burden on its economy. As a result of great efforts, this year we have managed to contribute $6.5 million to the United Nations regular budget, which otherwise could have been directed at solving the problems caused by Chernobyl. However, we cannot meet our financial obligations in full, for the reasons I have mentioned.

In this context, the Government of Ukraine urges a reconsideration of the scale of assessments for the United Nations regular budget and an amendment of the existing system of financing United Nations peace-keeping operations. Our delegation is ready to offer grounds for this position during discussion of the relevant items by the Fifth Committee.

The world has experienced great changes since the foundation of the United Nations. This is understandable, for, as Heraclitus said, "Nothing endures but change". That is why the issue of reforming the United Nations system is a quite natural one. Current realities raise new problems for the world community. Even though the danger of a global nuclear conflict has been practically eliminated, the "local" wars and regional conflicts breaking out all over the world are causing serious concern.

Interethnic armed conflicts and economic instability create favourable grounds for terrorism, the arms trade and the production and trafficking of drugs, and directly affect the security of United Nations Member States. The Chernobyl nuclear power station disaster, the environmental disorder in the Aral Sea area, the danger of an ecological catastrophe as a result of destruction of tropical forests and the depletion of the Earth's ozone layer are but a very incomplete list of the ecological problems facing mankind.

The need for change is also becoming especially urgent and even inevitable as a result of the significant events of the past few years that have radically redrawn the political map of the world; more than two dozen new independent States have emerged, thus considerably

increasing the United Nations family. Let me extend to them my sincere congratulations.

Ukraine shares the view that the present quantitative composition of the Security Council, its functioning and its working methods require appropriate adjustments, taking into consideration the new regional realities and the appearance of new participants in the international community. Implementing this proposal would increase the Council's degree of legitimacy as the body that is entrusted by the United Nations Member States with the principal responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. At the same time, it is important to preserve the Council's ability to respond effectively to emergencies that require prompt intervention.

In changing the structure of the United Nations Security Council, it is very important to take into account the existence, beyond its present membership, of participants in the international community that are potentially capable of playing an important role in the Organization's activities at the present time and that have substantial financial obligations to the United Nations. It is also very important to preserve in the Security Council the basic principle of equitable geographic representation.

The working methods of the most representative United Nations body - the General Assembly - also require modification. It is in our interest to direct its activities, to the maximum possible extent, towards further consolidating the principles of justice, democracy and development. The delegation of Ukraine supports the decisions of the forty-seventh session aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the General Assembly and at rationalizing the work of its Main Committees.

We are ready for further dialogue on the issues concerning structural changes in the sessional and subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly. This means, in particular, further decreasing the number of resolutions that are repeated and duplicated from year to year and redistributing the functions of subsidiary bodies.

In our view, the reform should also involve the activities of the main economic and social forum of the United Nations, the Economic and Social Council, and should also be reflected in the structure and working methods of the Organization's Secretariat. Ukraine fully supports the actions of Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Secretary-General, aimed at extending the reforms in the Secretariat, and who is acting firmly in order to increase the role and authority of the Organization, in keeping with the requirements of the time. We are facing the task of reorienting the United Nations social and economic activities in order to implement specific projects in the interest of all States, including those now on the way to the free market.

For the reforms to be successful, it is also important to ensure, in practice, real zero growth in the Organization's budget, and the effective use of its financial assets by reorientating them towards priority fields of activity.

The United Nations will soon mark its fiftieth anniversary. This jubilee is a special date in the calendar of international life, but, moreover, it will be celebrated at the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It is well known that all historic dates look towards the future. Therefore, the best way to celebrate this anniversary is to concentrate on outstanding issues, analyse the emerging situation and determine what the prospects are for future development. That is why, perhaps, it is time for the world community to get together, as it did after the world wars, and creatively reappraise the realities of the post-confrontational period and, where necessary, amend existing structures of security and cooperation and division of labour in order to determine the world order for the twenty-first century. These are the considerations that impelled President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine to initiate the idea of convening, within the framework of the United Nations fiftieth anniversary celebrations in 1995, a global international peace summit conference.

In advancing the idea of holding such an event under the auspices of the United Nations, we take it as given that this is the Organization that can convene global conferences of Ministers and Heads of States or Governments in order to weigh up complex issues and suggest comprehensive solutions. Therefore, all our thoughts today are directed towards tomorrow, to which we should come having discarded the heavy burden of the confrontational era and having drawn upon the best of the Organization's past activities, which have enriched us with invaluable knowledge. From the collective wisdom manifested in the activities of the United Nations, we can tap the optimism so necessary for mankind today, and the faith in its positive strength and in its future.

In conclusion, I should like to cite some words by Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Secretary-General, which he pronounced during his recent visit to Ukraine:

"Deep involvement in the great currents of history gives Ukraine a special insight into the world today. It qualifies Ukraine to play a full role in the new United Nations."

I wish to assure you that Ukraine will spare no effort in continuing to prove the rightness of his words.

Mr. DURÃO BARROSO (Portugal) *(spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation):* Mr. President, I should like to begin by congratulating you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly and by expressing our confidence in your ability to steer the proceedings of the present session.

I also express our gratitude to the outgoing President, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, for the dedicated way in which he fulfilled his mandate and contributed to the rationalization of the work of the Assembly.

I also congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, whose initiative and commitment have already made it possible to take important steps towards a thorough reform of the United Nations and towards strengthening its international credibility as an irreplaceable instrument of peace.

The universal calling of the United Nations, enshrined in its Charter, gives special meaning to the accession of six new Member States, Andorra, the Czech Republic, Eritrea, the Slovak Republic, Monaco and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; they have reinforced the legitimacy of this forum and assumed, before the international community, the responsibility entailed in the full exercise of national sovereignty.

My Belgian colleague, in his capacity as current President of the Council of Ministers of the European Communities, has already had the opportunity to make a statement on behalf of the 12 member States; Portugal fully subscribes to that statement. I should, however, like to refer to a number of issues that are of particular importance to my country.

The period of global transition now before us is marked by particularly contradictory signs.

On the one hand, the *détente* that surfaced with the end of the cold war has led to an increase in regional integration and the strengthening of cooperation between States, and has brought to life the concept of complementing the activities of the United Nations with those of regional organizations and arrangements.

On the other hand, violent nationalistic claims have re-emerged and old and seemingly forgotten antagonisms have resurfaced, leading to an unexpected outbreak of conflicts that threaten the internal cohesion of States and international peace and security.

In this context, and more so than ever, the role of the United Nations collective security system, now back on the front line of international relations, seems decisive. For this reason, we attach great significance to the ongoing restructuring of the Secretariat. We also deem particularly important the reform of the Security Council, which has special responsibilities and is now free to accomplish its original mission and to emerge as the driving force behind the Organization's political activities in maintaining stability and peace.

Other organizations, such as the European Community, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), have, in their turn, an important role to play in consolidating democracy, maintaining stability and promoting development in the entire European region.

It is essential for close cooperation to be established between those bodies and the United Nations - which has a primary and universal responsibility - so as to avoid duplication and to enhance what each can contribute to the search for peace and stability.

Peace-keeping operations have recently undergone a considerable expansion, and we are witnessing the deployment of large numbers of men and women in situations of various natures, including the protection of humanitarian assistance missions and preventive diplomacy initiatives. The involvement of military contingents in those operations requires clear political aims as well as unity of command and close and permanent coordination between the Secretariat and the interested parties, namely the contributing States and those States that may be able to offer, in a constructive manner, a political contribution to the peace processes.

Resolving the conflicts of today, building peace and preventing the conflicts of tomorrow will be no simple task. The demands and expectations that fall upon the United Nations have no historical precedent, and so every effort must be made to turn "An Agenda for Peace" into a reality.

Only then will the Organization be able to cope with the present and future challenges of maintaining peace, giving humanitarian assistance and providing aid for development.

Unfortunately, as I speak, the United Nations is confronting its greatest financial crisis in 48 years of existence and is facing the risk of not being able to assume its responsibilities in the important domain of maintaining international security.

This question remains the cornerstone of the future activity of the United Nations. If it remains unanswered, the consequences for the United Nation credibility and for world peace will be dramatic.

An important development that has resulted from the end of the cold war concerns respect for human rights, which are inalienable and universal and figure above all other considerations when we look at a particular political regime or model of society. We believe that it is necessary for the international community today to judge violations of human rights without double standards.

In this respect, I should like to stress the importance of the final declaration of the Vienna Conference, which emphasizes fundamental ideas and principles, specifically, those that concern the responsibilities of the international community in this area and define human rights as a priority for the United Nations. With this aim, it is now urgent for the General Assembly to discuss, without delay, the establishment of the post of high commissioner for human rights.

A commonality of values that reflect the dignity of the human person is an indispensable component of a better international order allowing the development of peaceful and lasting international relations. Thus, together with peace, development and democracy, we consider human rights to be one of the basic principles that should govern international society.

It is precisely because of the imperatives of human solidarity, and because we believe that the international community has an important role to play, that Portugal, both as a State and as a member of the European Community, is following with deep concern the conflict that, for the last two years, has been devastating parts of the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Portugal reiterates its firm position that only a settlement accepted by the three parties can put an end to this blood-stained chapter in European history.

The Portuguese Government truly regrets the interruption of the latest negotiating round in Geneva at a time when an agreement seemed within reach.

We once again urge all the parties involved in the conflict to show the necessary good will and flexibility so as to put an end to the suffering of the affected populations. Portugal considers that it is extremely urgent for a viable and just peace agreement to be signed: Only thus will the conditions for a return to peace be met.

Lastly, I wish to pay a tribute to the United Nations Protection Force - in which Portugal has the privilege of being included - to the European Community monitoring mission and to all humanitarian organizations operating in the area of the former Yugoslavia for the tasks they have performed under circumstances of particular hardship.

Portugal, a country which is historically and culturally linked to Africa, is profoundly aware of the unparalleled, appalling and ever-deteriorating living conditions prevailing in vast regions of the continent. Today, Africa certainly deserves the international community's special attention. It is in Africa that we should concentrate our principal efforts to end wars that are sometimes forgotten, but that are laying waste to large areas, and it is to Africa that we should be directing economic resources in quantities commensurate with the unparalleled scale of the problems it is facing. Only by increasing trade flows, economic ties and humanitarian assistance can we provide a degree of certainty for the success of democratization and progress.

I should like to refer also to the utmost importance that we attach to the work of the Organization of African Unity in the search for solutions to bring an end to the conflicts that overshadow Africa.

In Africa, there are five countries that officially use Portuguese. With these countries we have steadily deepened our ties in all areas. Based on a common culture and values, we are developing, together with Brazil and these African countries, a true community of Portuguese-speaking nations that is characterized by solidarity and tolerance.

It was precisely because of these special ties that my Government interceded in the Angolan conflict. The mediation efforts it deployed there, together with the United States and Russia, resulted in the signing in Lisbon of the *Acordos de Paz* on 31 May 1991. The year and a half of peace that followed those agreements raised in all

the Angolan people the legitimate expectation that almost 30 years of war were coming to an end. It also revealed stimulating signs of economic recovery and the advent of a new era of democracy and national reconciliation. Angolans therefore participated massively in the elections of last September. The resurgence of war in Angola cause by UNITA's failure to accept the results of the elections calls for a new effort from the international community to re-establish the cease-fire and to safeguard the democratic process, in accordance with the legitimate wishes for peace and democracy of the Angolan people.

Portugal welcomed the adoption on 15 September of Security Council resolution 864 (1993), in which the Council, in the wake of previous resolutions and under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, decided upon a set of important measures.

I remain convinced that dialogue is possible, and that only through direct negotiations between the Government of Angola and UNITA can a lasting solution and a durable peace be found. I therefore once again urge UNITA to return to the negotiating table, on the basis of the *Acordos de Paz* and full acceptance of the outcome of the September 1992 elections and the Abidjan guidelines, which were reached with the invaluable help of President Houphouet-Boigny and the Government of Côte d'Ivoire.

I applaud the peace initiatives undertaken by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, to which Portugal, together with the two other countries of the troika of observers, the United States and Russia, has given its strongest support.

Only with the restoration of peace will it be possible to bring about an end to the suffering of the Angolan people and make possible the provision of the much-needed humanitarian assistance that the international community is ready to provide. In this respect, the efforts already made by the specialized agencies of the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross are to be commended.

Regarding Mozambique, the role of the United Nations in conducting the peace process is for us a source of satisfaction. In this context, we welcome the adoption of Security Council resolution 850 (1993), which is a sign of the Organization's unequivocal commitment to bringing this process to a satisfactory conclusion.

Portugal is deeply involved in the Mozambique peace process, not only through its active contribution to the United Nations Operation in Mozambique but also through its participation in the structures created by the General Peace Agreement and through our contributions pledged during the donors' conference last December.

We also welcome the results of the recent meeting between the President of Mozambique and the leader of RENAMO, which represented a breakthrough and gave reason for hope in a future of peace and prosperity in Mozambique.

The positive outcome of that meeting, namely, the agreement on the issues of territorial administration and police, has been recognized by Security Council resolution 863 (1993), in which all parties are urged to implement without delay all the provisions of the General Peace Agreement so that the elections can be held in October 1994 at the latest.

Concerning South Africa, we are following events there closely, in particular the multiparty negotiations, which we hope will meet with success and constitute the foundations of a new, multiracial reality.

The withdrawal of significant forces in South African society from those negotiations is a cause for concern, and could have a negative impact on the normal course of the transition process, which, as we all hope, will end with the holding of elections next year.

The spread of violence in South Africa provides a special cause for concern, as pointed out by the European Community observer mission in South Africa and the Goldstone Commission, in both of which Portugal is participating actively. We deeply regret the violence, which cannot but jeopardize the path to national reconciliation.

We must stress, however, the positive aspect, namely the progress achieved with the 7 September agreement at the multiparty negotiations on the creation of the Transitional Executive Council. This was achieved by the efforts of the various parties that believe in a consensus solution for the political transition in South Africa.

I should also like to refer to Mr. Nelson Mandela's praiseworthy appeal, before the Special Committee against Apartheid, for an end to the economic sanctions imposed against South Africa, an appeal which constitutes a valuable encouragement to the process of political reform initiated by President F. W. de Klerk.

Leaving now the African continent, I would say that Portugal, because of its very important legal, moral and historic responsibilities in the case, continues to devote, as a matter of priority, particular attention to the question of East Timor, a Non-Self-Governing Territory recognized by the United Nations as being under Portuguese administration, its decolonization process not having been completed.

I should like to reaffirm, at this rostrum, my country's position of principle on this question: Portugal accepts in full the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and Security Council regarding East Timor. These resolutions reaffirm the need to apply, in the case of East Timor, the essential principles and rules adopted by this Organization on decolonization; those contained not only in the Charter, but in the historic resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) as well. The rejection of military conquest as the basis for claiming territorial enlargement, the need to respect East Timor's territorial integrity and the right of its people to self-determination are clearly established in those resolutions.

We remain firmly committed to achieving, in a peaceful and negotiated manner, a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement to this question. That settlement must not fail to meet the standards of international law and must fully respect the legitimate rights of the East Timorese, who are those most directly concerned and who have been the principal victims of this painful and long-protracted problem.

I should especially like to applaud the efforts of the Secretary-General - and those of his collaborators - under whose auspices talks have been held with Indonesia aimed at settling this issue. We do recognize how very difficult this task is as a result of the wide gap between the positions of the parties on the substance of the question, which is the conclusion of the process of the decolonization of the Territory. Three rounds of discussions have already taken place at the Ministerial level, and we are in the process of adopting a set of confidence-building measures in order to improve the atmosphere of dialogue and to foster the advancement of the process.

Allow me to quote, in this context, a passage of the progress report submitted, just a few days ago, by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly:

> "Equally important and intrinsically linked to the peace process is the human rights situation in East Timor. The improvement of the conditions in East Timor is *sine qua non* to progress in the talks". *(A/48/418, para. 5)*

I am sorry to have to say that, unfortunately, the human rights situation prevailing in the territory continues to elicit condemnation on the part of the international community. The resolutions adopted this year by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and by its Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities are a clear demonstration of this. We sincerely hope that steps will be taken that will bring about a tangible and genuine improvement of the situation in the territory and that this can be monitored without obstruction. I therefore call upon all Governments and human rights organizations to continue to keep a close eye on the situation in East Timor.

We are witnessing events of great significance in other parts of the world. Allow me to emphasize those which merit our particular attention.

Portugal remains faithful to the construction of an enlarged and strengthened Europe. We are close, therefore, to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and, guided by that objective, we propose to contribute through our participation in the framework of the European Community with a view to enhancing dialogue as well as political and economic cooperation. This approach will ensure peace, stability and economic well-being.

In this context of the joint responsibility of all actors on the international scene, we should encourage the ongoing political and economic reforms in the States that have emerged from the collapse of the former Soviet Union aimed at a peaceful evolution towards democratic societies based on the rule of law and fundamental human rights. We support their progressive integration into the international economy, which will prevent the political division of the past from being replaced with a new economic gap.

Allow me to salute at this point President Yeltsin for his courage and determination to carry on without interruption the process of political and economic reform that is indispensable for the complete democratization and development of the Russian Federation.

We lend our unequivocal support to all the efforts made by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the United Nations - which constitute a good test for cooperation between regional organizations

and the United Nations - to reach peaceful settlements to the disputes that have arisen on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

Regarding nuclear arms control and disarmament, Portugal considers the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to be an instrument of major importance, and looks forward to its indefinite extension at the 1995 Review Conference. Portugal urges all the parties that have not yet done so to ratify it, and reiterates the need for all the nuclear-weapon States that have emerged from the former Soviet Union to implement and comply with the obligations resulting from the START I and START II Treaties and the Lisbon Protocol.

At this point, allow me to stress the importance my Government attaches to the work of the Conference on Disarmament, to which my country has recently presented its candidature for full membership.

I wish to refer here to the current negotiations that are seeking to conclude the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade talks. While we hope for their successful conclusion, which we consider to be fundamental for the world economy, we also believe that the result should reflect a global and balanced solution based on an opening of markets and a reinforcement of the rules of international trade.

I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Government of Israel and the leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization for the realism, lucidity, courage and also imagination they displayed with the conclusion of the recent agreement, which represents a historic step towards the achievement of a just, lasting and comprehensive peace for the Middle East based upon the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. The agreement will certainly lend a new and encouraging vitality to the peace process in both its bilateral and multilateral tracks, irreversibly consolidating the latest developments.

Geographical proximity and historic and cultural ties justify the genuine attention with which my country is following the evolution of the situation in the Maghreb. Portugal has stressed, within the European Community and in other international forums, the importance of that region to security and stability in the Mediterranean. In this sense, the declaration of the Heads of State and Government at the Lisbon meeting of the Council of Europe set out a new approach to a political, economic, social and cultural dialogue between the European Community and the Maghreb.

Portugal has centuries-old relations of friendship with Latin America. Our special relationship with Brazil cannot be overemphasized. We are therefore in a position, in the spirit of the recent Ibero-American Summit in Salvador da Bahia, to enhance dialogue and cooperation with this region. In this respect, I should like to stress the importance we attach to an agenda for development in the advancement of a constructive and effective dialogue aimed at identifying and exploring new forms of solidarity in encouraging international cooperation for development.

In respect of the activities of the European Community, we have been striving to strengthen European ties with Latin America, through the San José process and the Rio group, by encouraging the efforts - which have already made progress possible - aimed at increasing respect for democratic institutions and human rights and developing new forms of economic integration.

I should also like to mention the current negotiations on the preservation of natural resources and the maintenance of environmental balance. The obligations of States go beyond the mere signature of multilateral treaties. At stake is a legacy to future generations of sufficient, conserved and renewable resources to ensure their well-being.

All efforts in that direction deserve the commitment of the international community as a whole, through the implementation of policies of a continental or even global scope. The Rio Conference was merely a step on the long road to convincing the world of the need to preserve the environment and to maintain the balance between the means of production and the human component without resorting to destruction and waste.

It is now important to put into practice the decisions of the Rio Conference in order to give expression to the measures decided on there. Portugal will not fail to do its part, in the full realization that only then shall we be able to build a future for coming generations.

At this point in its history, the United Nations is facing an unprecedented opportunity and, for the first time, can play the role originally intended for it, without restriction, in the resolution of conflicts and the maintenance of international stability and as the custodian of respect for human rights.

We are all committed to providing a positive contribution to meeting this challenge. Portugal, for its

part, will do everything possible to achieve these ambitious goals.

Mr. SOLANA MADARIAGA (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I should like first of all, Mr. President, to convey to you my warmest congratulations. Your election to the presidency of this Assembly is a clear acknowledgement of your personal qualities and diplomatic skills and is a tribute to your country, the Republic of Guyana. We are pleased that you were nominated as a candidate by the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States, with which my country has particularly close and cooperative relations.

I should also like to pay tribute to and greet warmly Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The United Nations needs his proven competence and political experience in order to face the numerous challenges before us at the end of the century. You may rest assured, Mr. Secretary-General, that in carrying out your complex tasks you can count on the firm cooperation of the Spanish authorities.

Allow me also to convey at this time to the Government and the people of India our deepest sympathy for and solidarity with the victims of the earthquake that ravaged that country yesterday.

Over the last year the universality of the United Nations has once again been enhanced by the admission of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Eritrea, Monaco and Andorra as new Members. I welcome them all, and most particularly Andorra, a neighbour of Spain with which we are linked by special ties of history, culture and deep friendship.

A few days ago Belgium's Minister of Foreign Affairs, speaking on behalf of the European Community and its member States, set forth our common points of view in this general debate. On behalf of the Spanish delegation, I shall mention some issues that I think deserve special attention.

A year ago, when I addressed this Assembly for the first time, I referred, as did many other speakers, to the fundamental changes that had taken place in the world since the middle of the last decade. It is the Spanish Government's firm conviction that those changes have led to the advent of a new era. The United Nations has a great opportunity to play an effective, central role in harmonizing world-wide the efforts of the international community in order to achieve the common purposes embodied in the Charter.

Thus, it seems that the time has come to strengthen our Organization by providing it with the necessary human and material resources to enable it to carry out its goals. We must also think about the measures necessary for a possible revision of the Charter.

A review of the Security Council is an item on our agenda, and this needs to be approached in a constructive spirit and with the aim of increasing its representativeness and ensuring that its actions be not only fast but also effective. Such a review should be based on the criteria established in Article 23 of the Charter, that is to say, taking into account the contribution of Member States to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

We believe that the time has come for a moderate increase in the membership of the Council so as to reflect the increase in the number of Members of the Organization since 1963, when, for the first time, it was decided to expand the Council's membership.

We also deem it appropriate to consider the creation of new categories: one that would enable certain States to become permanent members without the right of veto, and another that would allow more frequent non-permanent membership in the Council to certain States with weight and influence in international relations that have the capacity and political will to contribute significantly to the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the United Nations. All this would undoubtedly serve to put our Organization in a better position to face the challenges of maintaining peace and international security.

In this context, it is also necessary to make reforms in order to deal with the changing nature of the tasks assigned to the peace operations established by the Security Council. The traditional concept of peace-keeping operations, embracing monitoring of cease-fire agreements, interposition between adversarial forces and the establishment of confidence-building measures - all by primarily military means - has been expanded, increasingly encompassing new, non-military aspects. These new tasks range from humanitarian assistance to nation-building, and include the monitoring of elections and of the observance of human rights. Nearly 100,000 men and women from all over the world are currently serving in the framework of these increasingly complex and demanding operations.

The United Nations has made a commendable effort to adapt the structure and functioning of peace operations to the new exigencies. We should pursue our efforts in this direction, as we are convinced that it is always preferable to solve a conflict under the aegis of the United Nations than through the unilateral action of a Power or group of Powers outside the framework of the Organization.

Here I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to some relevant questions regarding the proper functioning of peace operations and to offer some ideas and suggestions aimed at enhancing their performance and effectiveness.

When establishing a peace operation, the Security Council should pay the utmost attention to defining accurately its mandate. The Council should also receive periodic information on the development of the operation. Consultation mechanisms should be established with those States that have a special interest, because of their involvement in the operation or their troop contributions.

Special attention should also be given to questions of safety. Acts of violence against the Blue Helmets have increased alarmingly because of the growing complexity and risks of the operations. The issue of safety should be considered most seriously. In this regard we have examined with the greatest interest the Secretary-General's report to the Security Council and the recommendations of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. We believe that the use of force against United Nations personnel must be regarded as unacceptable interference in the exercise of the responsibilities entrusted to the Security Council by the Charter. When such acts occur, the Council should take appropriate measures, the first of which should be to hold responsible the perpetrators of the acts.

The Spanish Government considers it imperative that the appropriate financial resources be made available to the United Nations in timely fashion to meet the cost of these operations. We all share the responsibility for ensuring a sound financial and administrative basis for peace operations. Before a new operation is established, an estimate of its financial implications should be presented to the Council.

A the same time, the task assigned to the Security Council in terms of peace-keeping and peace enforcement should not lead us to forget the competence of the General Assembly on budgetary questions and in the field of preventive diplomacy, especially peace-building. With the cooperation of United Nations operational activities, the General Assembly must play an important role in this overall approach to international security, as is referred to by the Secretary-General in his "An Agenda for Peace".

Neither should the Secretariat be overlooked. Its structure and logistical capacity for managing peace operations need to be reviewed and expanded. We applaud the Secretary-General's efforts in this respect.

Aware of the crucial importance taken on by peace operations, Spain - which has participated and continues to participate through a large number of military and civilian observers in various operations, particularly in Central America and southern Africa - decided a year ago to send a military contingent of about 1,000 soldiers to Bosnia and Herzegovina as part of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

Within the framework of the increasingly necessary cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations, my country sent observers to help in monitoring compliance with the sanctions imposed against Serbia and Montenegro and is maintaining naval units in the Adriatic. Spanish personnel also take part in the observer missions of the European community and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The people and the Government of Spain are proud of the work being done by our forces and observers. I wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to those who have given their blood and their lives while serving in these peaceful humanitarian missions of the Organization.

Since the beginning of the terrible conflict in the former Yugoslavia the Spanish people and Government have done their best to alleviate the suffering of the population and have contributed, within the framework of the Security Council and the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, to the development of a political process aimed at achieving a peaceful solution acceptable to all parties. We have all been appalled by the cruelty of that war and frustrated by the endless negotiations.

It is only fitting to acknowledge the splendid work accomplished, under extremely difficult circumstances, by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). We would also express gratitude for the skill and dedication of the co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

Provided they can rely on the parties' basic goodwill and capacity for compromise, their efforts should lead to an agreement before this coming winter brings with it a dreadful human catastrophe. If the hoped for agreement is reached, the international community and the Organization will then be faced with a new challenge, that of guaranteeing implementation of the peace agreement through the establishment of a peace-keeping operation under the auspices and authority of the United Nations. Spain would be prepared to contribute to such a force.

This year the Security Council decided to establish an International Tribunal to bring to trial those charged with serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. We believe that this crucial step will also encourage at this session of the General Assembly the speedy completion of work leading to the establishment of a permanent international criminal tribunal with universal jurisdiction.

In the past few months important developments have taken place in various other parts of the world.

My Government is following with anxiety and hope the recent events in Russia - with anxiety, because at one time it appeared that the internal stability of that country and, therefore, of Europe and the rest of the world, was in jeopardy, but also with hope that the Russian people themselves will become the masters of their own destiny.

We are concerned about the worsening conflict in Abkhazia and the continued confrontation in Nagorny-Karabakh between Armenians and Azerbaijanis. We appeal to the wisdom and capacity for dialogue of all the parties involved and reiterate our support for the peace efforts of the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

In Angola the process of restoring democratic normality and coexistence has been seriously hampered by UNITA's refusal to accept the outcome of free and fair elections, thus preventing the implementation of the Bicesse Accords. This has compelled the Security Council to impose sanctions on UNITA in the hope that its leadership will reconsider its attitude and begin to cooperate in good faith to put an end to a conflict of catastrophic human proportions.

We wish to recall that a number of the problems arising from the war between Iraq and Kuwait are still unresolved, among them the exchange of prisoners and the return of stolen assets by the invader. The fact that Iraq has not yet recognized either the existence of Kuwait as a sovereign State, Member of the United Nations, the demarcation of the border between the two countries, which was recently confirmed by the Security Council, constitutes a serious obstacle to peace.

The persistence of those and other conflicts should not make us forget the progress achieved in the solution of many others.

Here we would especially mention the success achieved in Cambodia through the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), with the holding last May of elections for a Constituent Assembly, elections that paved the way to national unity and reconciliation.

In the Middle East, the serious obstacles that were threatening to scuttle the peace process launched two years ago in Madrid have been overcome. The mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), along with the signing in Washington on 13 September of an Agreement on the establishment of an autonomous Palestinian regime in Jericho and Gaza, is a development of far-reaching significance. Spain welcomes this fundamental step in the tortured history of the Middle East and is prepared, together with other countries, to maintain its political and economic support in order to ensure that the Agreement between the Palestinians and Israelis becomes effective. We are aware that the process is fraught with difficulties, but we believe that they can be surmounted with the same courage and imagination already displayed in achieving the recent agreements, and with the support of the international community.

In Africa, new developments have taken place, although not without some delay and difficulties. In Mozambique we have witnessed the implementation of the General Peace Agreement, with the invaluable cooperation of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (UNOMOZ). In Somalia, the Security Council has given the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) one of the broadest mandates ever conferred upon a United Nations operation. It cannot be denied that problems of internal adjustment have been caused by the very novelty and magnitude of the tasks entrusted to UNOSOM II, and they will have to taken into account in future peace-keeping operations. Nevertheless, the Operation's contribution has been vital in reducing the consequences of a catastrophe caused by natural disasters and armed

rivalries that have claimed hundreds of thousands of victims.

Turning to the question of Western Sahara, I wish to express Spain's full support for the efforts being made by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to find a solution to the outstanding problems that will make possible the holding of a free and fair referendum on self-determination. That referendum will pave the way for the climate of understanding and cooperation that is necessary to deal with the challenges in the region. My country resolutely supports the process of integration in the North of Africa and the development of stronger links between Europe and the Maghreb.

We also welcome the progress made in the transitional process in South Africa, although we regret the fact that violence still holds sway in certain areas. The progress made in the drafting of a Constitution and the prompt establishment of the Transitional Executive Council are the best possible foundations for the holding of general elections in 1994 to prepare the way for a truly representative Parliament and a democratic South Africa that will be able to find its true place in the Organization and in the international community.

In Latin America, a number of recent events deserve special consideration.

I should mention first the process of consolidation of democracy through the free election of civilian Presidents and Parliaments in nearly the whole of the continent. That fact, enhanced by a number of forums such as the Rio Group, the Central American Summits or the Ibero-American Summits, has reversed attempts to violate the legitimacy of the democratic process.

Latin America continues to place special emphasis on the use of negotiation, mediation and conciliation in solving its conflicts, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VI of the Charter.

Respect for international law and democracy are the principles that have guided and will continue to guide the activities of the international community aimed at restoring democratic legality in Haiti. Those principles have also inspired the decisive agreements with regard to the peace process in El Salvador, where we hope the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Commission and the Commission on the Truth will be implemented. Finally, those same principles will be the basis for reconciliation and development in Nicaragua and Guatemala.

Once again this year I have to mention a matter that, as the Assembly knows, is of fundamental importance to Spain, namely, the decolonization of Gibraltar. I wish to reiterate my Government's firm decision to continue the process of negotiation with the United Kingdom in a constructive spirit and on the basis of the Brussels Declaration of 27 November 1984. Those negotiations should duly take into account the legitimate interests of the population, but be based on the doctrine established by the General Assembly that the decolonization of Gibraltar is not a case of self-determination but of the restoration of the territorial integrity of Spain. The Spanish Government firmly hopes that those negotiations will finally eliminate this anachronism.

In the field of disarmament new challenges have emerged, such as the need to put an end to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Now, more than ever, we need to redouble our efforts to move beyond a period of confrontation that belongs to the past.

There is a pressing need to strengthen the multilateral negotiating forums to enable them to face the new challenges efficiently. In this respect, my country considers that priority should be given to enlarging the Conference on Disarmament, on the basis of a consensus that will enable countries like Spain, which have been participating actively in its work for a long time, to become members.

There is a clear link between international peace and security on the one hand and economic and social development on the other. In this new era, when the United Nations is renewing its efforts to maintain international peace and security, we must note the persistence of deep disparities and serious economic and social problems besetting all countries, in particular the developing countries. To confront these challenges, the reform of the United Nations should extend to the Organization's economic and social machinery. The reforms, which have already begun, should be aimed at achieving more effective functioning and at using available resources more rationally to meet the needs of developing countries.

In that context, let me mention the convening of the first session of the Commission on Sustainable Development. We hope its work will maintain and even intensify the great momentum generated by the Rio Summit on environment and development and lead to the speedy implementation of the commitments made there in Agenda 21.

But it is not enough to repair and fine-tune the machinery we intend to use to deal with the challenges of development. We need clear guidelines by which to steer it unerringly towards the wide range of current needs, in particular those of the developing countries. Hence, we look forward with great interest to the Secretary-General's "Agenda for Development"; in conjunction with "An Agenda for Peace", this will supplement the guidelines for action by the international community with respect to the indivisible equation of world peace and economic and social development.

In that context, I want to recall that the third Ibero-American Summit, held at Salvador de Bahía, Brazil, last July, considered "An agenda for development", with the emphasis on social development. The conclusions adopted by the Heads of State or Government of the 21 participating countries were submitted to the Secretary-General as a contribution to the preparation of his own "Agenda for Development".

Mr. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of Iran), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The final document of that Summit stressed the growing interrelationship among the concepts of development, democracy and human rights. It drew attention to the priority that should be given to the fight against poverty both on the governmental level and when allocating resources and creating machinery for international cooperation. Our starting-point should be to promote integrated economic and social development, bearing in mind the three priorities the Secretary-General set out at the last session of the Economic and Social Council: redistribution, integration and protection.

The structure of and developments in the world population give rise to grave uncertainties about their consequences and about the aspirations of developing countries to attain sustainable development. These and other important issues such as large-scale migration, improving the machinery for cooperation, and managing resources for that purpose will be discussed at the International Conference on Population and Development to be held next year at Cairo. We hope that Conference will mark a significant step towards the solution of these questions by addressing together the issues of population, economic growth and sustainable development.

The Spanish Government considers that there is also an urgent need to integrate women into the development process, eliminate discrimination against women and ensure their full participation in the economic, social, cultural, civic and political spheres. We trust that this commitment will be renewed and buttressed by the international community at the Fourth World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing in 1995.

The World Summit for Social Development, the convening of which my country strongly supported from the outset, is to be held at Copenhagen in 1995. It will give a political impetus to improving the living conditions of the most disadvantaged sectors of our populations. It will help promote their social integration and the creation of a concept of social development taking into account the relationship between peace and well-being, while aiming to reduce poverty and increase employment.

Year after year from this rostrum we emphasize our firm intention to build a better world in which the protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms will become real and effective. Unfortunately, year after year we are forced to observe that, despite all our efforts, the practices that endanger human life, freedom and security persist. It is therefore no longer enough to state our readiness to step up our efforts; we must now move, in solidarity, to action.

In that respect, the outcome of the Vienna Conference on human rights gives us an excellent opportunity to work steadfastly towards our common goal. We now have a set of universal rules, universally accepted; we must now insist on their obligatory application. There can be no democracy without respect for human rights, and without democracy there cannot be the harmonious, balanced and lasting development to which we all aspire.

For that reason, it is of high importance that we proceed expeditiously to implement the Vienna commitments, in particular the programme of action. In the view of the Spanish Government there are two key issues the resolution of which could lead to unprecedented progress in this area. First, we must agree on the establishment of the office of a high commissioner for human rights; and secondly, we must provide the United Nations Centre for Human Rights with the resources it needs to carry out its mandate fully.

In my statement today I have tried to address the most pressing challenges facing the Organization, challenges inherent in the increasingly free but increasingly uncertain world in which we live. I have also advanced proposals for the reform of the Organization aimed at adapting it to the new circumstances.

It is difficult but necessary that we focus both on the new problems and on the reform of the Organization. Our ability to do this will determine whether the United Nations can increasingly serve as the proper forum for resolving world problems.

Sheikh AL-SABAH (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of Kuwait, it gives me pleasure to convey to Ambassador Insanally our sincere congratulations on his unanimous election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session. I take this opportunity to assure him of the support and cooperation of the delegation of Kuwait in recognition of the close ties that exist between our two countries. His ability and skill give us confidence that our deliberation under his leadership will be fruitful.

I am pleased also to pay a tribute to his predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Stoyan Ganev, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, for his able and effective stewardship of the General Assembly at its previous session.

On behalf of the Government and the people of Kuwait, I wish to extend deepest sympathy and condolences to the Government and the people of India with respect to the tragedy resulting from the earthquake in that country, which claimed thousands of innocent victims.

Kuwait has been following the impressive role of the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali, in developing new modalities of work for the United Nations that are more in line with the sweeping developments, events and changes that are taking place in the world. We cannot but put on record our appreciation of the Secretary-General's tireless efforts and creativity in restructuring and streamlining the world Organization to reflect in a more meaningful manner the realities of the new world situation. He deserves special credit for his promotion of the concept of preventive diplomacy.

Kuwait takes pride in its backing of the United Nations and we do support the new approach it pursues despite the various difficulties it faces and the accusations levelled at it. The United Nations, at the threshold of its fiftieth anniversary, needs from us every material and moral support each and every Member can extend to it. On the other hand, the Organization itself should enhance its effectiveness, streamline its structure and revitalize its organs, especially the Security Council. The Council should reflect more closely the new realities of today's world. It should be more capable of making and preserving peace and more forcefully firm in implementing its resolutions in consonance with the provisions of the Charter.

The United Nations today reflects new world realities, as shown by the recent increase in its membership. Kuwait welcomes the accession to United Nations membership by Eritrea, the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Monaco, Andorra and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and trusts that their accession to the Organization's membership will consolidate further the efficacy and universality of multilateralism.

With the end of the cold war and the effectual participation by the United Nations in resolving many international problems, the world today is moving steadily towards the realization of the principle of interdependence and mutual cooperation between members of the international community. The demise of bipolarity and the disappearance of the barriers that used to separate peoples, together with closer contacts through mass communication made available by the technological revolution, have made it possible for every individual to watch world events as they unfold. Thus peoples are now able to react to and interact with global issues in an unprecedented manner. A direct outcome of all that is the constant expansion of the web of interrelated interests, so that regional security has become an inseparable part of global security. Economic and social development issues have now acquired a high priority among the concerns of the international community.

While we in Kuwait support this new tendency, we must stress that movement in the new direction should be humane in concept, civilized in ways and means, pragmatic in modalities and realistic in aims. We also stress that the right of both the individual and the community to development should be accorded top priority among international concerns. In this context, we consider that the first and foremost human right is the right to secure essential necessities of living. Social and economic development at various levels is a close second. Kuwait believes that development should be addressed collectively and that is the most effective way of ensuring the availability of its essential ingredients, so that no region or group of nations should monopolize world resources at the expense of whole continents which remain hostage to the cycle of want and poverty.

We view with satisfaction the new approach of dealing collectively with hotbeds of tension, as envisioned by the Charter. Here we have in mind the practical and

effective application of the concept of collective security in the context of which regional conflicts are viewed as direct threats to world peace and stability and not as mere threats to regional security. Therefore we demand that any conflict should be dealt with firmly and expeditiously in order to avoid its worsening, opening the door and allowing terrorism to fly in the face of international legality and flout the new approach.

It is in keeping with this conviction that Kuwait, despite its difficult circumstances, participates in the United Nations humanitarian operations in Somalia, our sister country. Such participation bespeaks our commitment to the new United Nations approach and our support for putting it into practice. Kuwait considers that the international presence in Somalia is indispensable if the Somali people are to be saved from destruction and chaos and if Somalia itself is to survive as an independent country. Indeed, the United Nations peace-keeping operations, which now total 17, as stated by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization (A/48/1), require from us all full material support, practical participation and political backing. Accordingly, the Government of Kuwait announces from this podium that it will voluntarily bear two thirds of the costs of the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM). This is to demonstrate our firm belief in the true role of UNIKOM in safeguarding the security and peace in our region. It represents also a consolidation of the concept of collective security and the United Nations role therein.

Kuwait believes that the most important underpinnings of the new world approach are: compliance with established norms of conduct in international relations; respect for the principles of international law; rejection of interference in the internal affairs of other States; rejection of seeking gains and concessions at the expense of neighbouring countries; the resolution of problems by dialogue rather than by force; and the renunciation of terrorism as a means of revenge.

The Iraqi regime invaded and occupied the State of Kuwait. However, the adamant international will embodied by the United Nations helped liberate Kuwait in a historic act that led to a clean and tidy elimination of that horrendous crime. Subsequently, Iraq accepted the consequences of its crime as set out in Security Council resolution 687 (1991) which contains the provisions of fair and binding solutions for the false Iraqi claims regarding Kuwait. It also outlines the conditions for dealing with the consequences and underlying reasons of the Iraqi invasion. The quintessence of resolution 687, which was accepted unconditionally by Iraq, is the reaffirmation of the sovereignty and independence of Kuwait. It also called for the utilization of United Nations technical assistance in the demarcation of boundaries between Kuwait and Iraq on the basis of the documents exchanged between the two countries in October 1963. In implementation of the provisions of the said resolution, the United Nations set up a Boundary Demarcation Commission which successfully completed its work last May and has issued its final report which contains the definitive map of land and maritime boundaries between Kuwait and Iraq (document S/25811).

Kuwait commends the technical Boundary Demarcation Commission and pays tribute to its members for their impartiality, dedication and patience, especially in the face of Iraqi accusations and provocations. Kuwait also pays tribute to the Security Council for adopting two historic resolutions this year. The first, resolution 806 (1993), extended the terms of reference of UNIKOM into a peace-keeping operation with full powers to prevent Iraqi raids into Kuwait and to put an end to riots instigated by the Iraqi regime. Resolution 833 (1993), unanimously adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter, reaffirms the commitment of the Security Council to guarantee the inviolability of the international boundary as demarcated by the United Nations technical commission and to consider that boundary as final and inviolable. By so doing, the Security Council has put an end to an amorphous situation which had lasted for far too long and which Iraq exploited in a bid to secure territorial expansion, to exercise regional hegemony, and to gain political, strategic and material concessions at the expense of Kuwait and the other Gulf States. The demarcation of the boundary between Kuwait and Iraq is a major contribution by the international community to the elimination of a volatile hotbed of regional tension which the Iraqi regime used to exploit in creating an atmosphere of uncertainty and mistrust and which culminated in its vicious invasion of the State of Kuwait.

Kuwait responded positively to the Secretary-General's acceptance of the outcome of the border demarcation process. In our response, we also reaffirmed our sincere cooperation with the United Nations despite the fact that Kuwait had voted against some Commission decisions which denied Kuwait its rights in Khowr Zhobeir. Iraq, for its part, responded with two letters to the Secretary-General. The first in May 1992, following the demarcation of the land boundary, and the second in June 1993 following the demarcation of the maritime boundary. Both letters reiterated previous Iraqi claims to what it calls its historical rights. Iraq also rejected the

demarcation results and challenged the integrity of the United Nations technical Commission and the validity of its procedures and work. This prompted the Security Council to reprimand Iraq strongly in a presidential statement which it issued on 28 June 1993 and in which it rejected the contents of the aforesaid Iraqi letters and reminded Iraq of its obligations under resolution 687 (1991).

Iraq has unconditionally accepted resolution 687 (1991) in all its provisions and in so doing has undertaken legal, political and moral obligations on which it cannot renege, nor can it fail to abide by the consequences of such obligations because the functions of the technical Commission were not to the liking of its representative on the Commission, who had participated fully, for a whole year, in its work and deliberations and then chose to withdraw from the Commission when he found himself unable to produce substantive documents corroborating Iraq's claims, despite the fact that the Commission pressed him to do so. The stance of the Iraqi regime constitutes a rebellion against Security Council resolutions in defiance of the will of the Council and the international community. This represents an egregious departure from the current global mainstream and warrants firm international resolve to reject the Iraqi regime's practices in both form and substance.

I find it necessary now to emphasize in no uncertain terms that the Iraqi regime remains in its philosophy, behaviour, thinking and nature a threat to regional and global peace and security. It persists in its aggressiveness while it thumbs its nose at the world community, which continues to reject and isolate it with sanctions. Kuwait has confidence in the wisdom of the Security Council and the ability of its members to fulfil their mandate. We trust that they are keen to ensure their collective commitment to the Security Council resolutions and thus compel the Iraqi regime to recognize that it has no option but to begin the complete and documented implementation of all those resolutions to the letter. The Iraqi regime should be made to understand that its desperate endeavours to have the sanctions lifted will be totally futile unless and until it clearly and legally complies with the boundary demarcation decisions as set forth in the relevant Council resolutions, especially resolutions 773 (1992) and 833 (1993). The Iraqi regime must also meet other basic requirements, such as desisting from the false claims made by its official information apparatus which continues to describe Kuwait as part of Iraq and to make other false claims to so-called historical rights. The persistence of and increase in such falsehoods, which emanate from ranking officials of that regime, is a reversal of and retreat from acceptance of the essence of resolution 687 (1991), which represents Iraq's commitment to respect Kuwait's sovereignty, independence and international borders. We have submitted regular reports to the Security Council containing complete verbatim excerpts of the claims made by senior Iraqi officials and the official Iraqi media.

We call upon all Member States of the United Nations to welcome the relevant Security Council resolutions on the border demarcation and the inviolability of boundaries as essential components of the regional security structure. We also expect Member States to demand that the Iraqi regime respect all relevant resolutions and link the lifting of sanctions with its implementation of all Security Council resolutions, particularly those regarding the boundary demarcation and the release of prisoners.

In this context, I should like to recall that the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (GCC) issued at its last March session a statement welcoming the demarcation of the boundary between Kuwait and Iraq. The GCC also underscored the demarcation as an underpinning of regional security. Furthermore, the Damascus Declaration States, which include the six GCC countries together with Egypt and Syria, issued a statement last June supporting the demarcation and welcoming the measures taken by the Security Council as positive contributions to stability and security at both the regional and international levels.

Iraq's procrastination in implementing the Security Council resolutions is not limited to the boundary demarcation but extends to a purely humanitarian issue: the release of all prisoners, hostages and detainees of Kuwaiti and third country nationals. Those hostages and prisoners have been languishing in Iraqi prisons and detention camps for some three years now. We trust and hope that the international community will bring pressure to bear on the Iraqi regime to release every one of those innocent men, women and children. Their plight is a stark violation of all the values and concepts associated with the issue of human rights. It is also a case that represents a rejection of the new global approach, which we believe all here are keen to promote with a view to safeguarding human rights in the world.

Kuwait has explored all possible avenues, using all available Arab, Islamic and international channels to persuade the Iraqi regime to comply with the norms of international law, especially its commitments under the Geneva Conventions. To date, the Iraqi regime has made

no positive response to the efforts made by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) on behalf of those persons. Most recently, it boycotted a meeting organized by the ICRC in Geneva last month to discuss the latest developments of this important and urgent humanitarian matter. The people of Kuwait will feel no relief and enjoy no peace of mind until the very last prisoner is returned to his or her family and homeland.

Iraq has also failed to fulfil its obligation to return the remainder of Kuwaiti property belonging to the private and public sectors in our country. Furthermore, it has neither implemented Security Council resolutions 707 (1991) and 715 (1991), nor has it desisted from oppressing and suppressing its own population in the northern and the southern regions of the country. It continues to resort to acts of terrorism. We in Kuwait share the Iraqi people's pain and suffering by virtue of the brotherhood between our two peoples and our everlasting neighbourhood. It is with particular concern that we see the humiliation of the Iraqi people as the Iraqi regime pursues its atrocities with total disregard for the plight of the Iraqi people and its future. The Iraqi regime has stubbornly rejected the mechanism provided to alleviate the suffering and hardships of the Iraqi people by failing to implement Security Council resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991). Indeed, responsibility for the plight of the Iraqi people lies squarely on the regime itself, which must be held accountable for all the dire consequences of its atrocities.

Kuwait firmly believes that security in the Gulf region is part and parcel of world security. Hence, the international community is responsible for ensuring respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States that fall prey to aggression. Support for States that fall victim to aggression should also be provided by the world community when a conflict breaks out. The consolidation of regional security requires confidence-building among all countries in the region as a basic premise for attaining that common goal. Here, I should like to underline the close ties and complete trust that exist among GCC States. Their cooperation is a substantial contribution to the stability and security of the region. Facts on the ground attest to our common endeavours.

Kuwait is keen to improve its relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran on the basis of the principles of good-neighbourliness, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other and respect for sovereignty as specified by the Gulf Cooperation Council Supreme Council. Having said that, Kuwait would like to emphasize the sovereignty of the United Arab Emirates over its three islands - Abu Mousa, Lesser Tonb and Greater Tonb. Furthermore, Kuwait wishes to put on record its absolute support for all the peaceful measures and means to which the United Arab Emirates resorts in order to regain sovereignty over its islands. Kuwait remains hopeful that dialogue will eventually clear away all the outstanding matters between the two countries. With that aim in view, Kuwait calls upon the Islamic Republic of Iran to commit itself to resolving this dispute on the basis of international law and treaties and to ending it by peaceful means.

In the context of the developments that are taking place with regard to the Middle East peace process, Kuwait welcomes the signing of the accord between the people of Palestine and Israel to exercise their right to self-determination, to free their territory from occupation and to build their own national institutions. In keeping with Kuwait's support for every effort made and every avenue chosen by the Palestinian people to further their cause, the Kuwaiti Council of Ministers has issued a statement in which it welcomed this first step towards the full implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions.

Kuwait views this accord as a first step towards the creation of a framework to deal with many details - a process that will require enormous effort and patience on the part of the parties directly involved if a successful conclusion is to be ensured. The accord has indeed ushered in a totally new chapter in the history of the Middle East and the question of Palestine. We hope that, in the new era, negotiation will replace conflict; dialogue will supersede confrontation; and that disputes will be resolved under the rule of international law instead of by force of arms, in consonance with the developing new approach. However, the litmus test will be in the steps that will follow and in the achievements that will be made on the other Arab fronts. In the final analysis, partial or incomplete peace will not last, and a unilateral accord will not lead to a fair and comprehensive peace. From now on we should not look to the past with pain and sorrow; rather, we should look to the future with hope and confidence.

In the end, the success of the peace process hinges on genuine and serious commitment on the part of Israel to implement United Nations resolutions, particularly those that call for complete and unconditional withdrawal from the Syrian Arab Golan. In the same vein, Israel must withdraw its forces from Southern Lebanon, without any further delay, in compliance with Security Council

resolution 425 (1978). I take this opportunity to commend the Lebanese Government for its remarkable effort to build national reconciliation in Lebanon. For its part, Kuwait will continue to back the Lebanese people in their efforts to reconstruct and rehabilitate their homeland.

The tragedy of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina continues unabated. That people is the target of brutal aggression by the Serbs and the Croats, who want to impose a *fait accompli* and to make territorial gains by imposing a grossly unjust settlement on the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We call upon the Security Council and the European Community to take all urgent and effective measures to prevent the aggressor from gaining any reward and to refuse to legitimize the outcome of outright aggression. We appeal to the international community to lift the embargo on arms supplies to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to enable its people to exercise their right to self-defence, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

A few days ago, Kuwait was pleased to receive the President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The visit was the culmination of Kuwait's constant support for the struggle of that Muslim nation, and it demonstrated our deep, comprehensive and unwavering commitment to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Kuwait firmly welcomes the agreement that has been reached between the Government of President de Klerk and the other parties involved in the negotiations on the future political and social structure in South Africa. The thrust of this accord is to end the system of apartheid, which divides society into segments whose rights and prerogatives are based on the colour of their skin. We applaud this historic agreement, which will put all the people of South Africa, irrespective of class, on a totally new humanitarian cause, enabling all South Africans to unleash their energies in the building of a new society.

For its part, Kuwait has complied fully with all the boycott regulations. Together with other members of the international community, it contributed to the creation of the effective mechanism that eventually led to the agreement in question. Now we intend to take the necessary measures on the national level to lift sanctions in response to Mr. Nelson Mandela's recent appeal from this rostrum. Our action will be in line with the global trend towards the creation of conditions conducive to the fulfilment of the targets set out in the agreement. My Government will review Kuwaiti national legislation that prohibits dealings with the Government of South Africa, in the light of the national agreement in South Africa, international consensus and the important statement in which Mr. Nelson Mandela called for an end to the economic sanctions while continuing to maintain the ban on conventional and nuclear weapons.

We welcome also the proposal by the Multilateral Negotiating Council and the agreement that has been reached to enable the young Republic of Namibia to have its territorial rights in respect of Walvis Bay and the off-shore islands restored.

Parallel to the heart-warming transformations on the world political arena, there are some significant economic indicators. The issues relating to the world economic situation are of great concern to my Government. In our view, top priority must be given, on the international economic agenda, to the economic plight of the developing countries, especially the most impoverished among them, so that they may be helped to alleviate the severe suffering of their populations.

Convinced that the future of the world and the well-being of its inhabitants require wholesome approaches that balance the use of resources with conservation of the environment, Kuwait has played an active role in the international forums dealing with the questions of the environment and energy. We are extremely keen on the promotion of international cooperation with a view to achieving wider development and removing obstacles that impede it. We believe, however, that priority should be accorded to national and international efforts that aim at achieving overall social and economic development and increasing political stability.

The individual must always be the focus of every development effort. All development policies should be flexible enough to accommodate the ingenuity and creative power of all individuals. This is indeed our guarantee of progress and excellence in human endeavour. International institutions should provide the platform and the framework to harness our national efforts towards that end.

The new international orientation, in its political and economic aspects, presents us with yet another window of opportunity. As interdependent partners, we should forge ahead together so that, together, we may reap the common benefits of the new order.

Mr. HAAVISTO (Finland): I wish to begin by congratulating Ambassador Insanally on his election to the high office of the presidency of the General Assembly. He can rest assured that the delegation of Finland will render him its full support in his challenging task.

On behalf of my Government, I also wish to congratulate and extend a warm welcome to the new Members among us. Their participation in the work of the United Nations will further strengthen the Organization.

Just a few years ago, in a promisingly changing political environment, high hopes were placed in the United Nations. Some of these hopes were fulfilled, others were not. Namibia's independence process is a fine example of nation-building in which the United Nations played a crucial role. Eritrea is another. Let these be examples of wise and patient conciliation and conflict management. Yet another example is South Africa, where today we see irrevocable changes taking place, leading towards a non-racial and democratic society. I wish to express my Government's admiration for the achievements of the parties in South Africa in their work for peace, cooperation and mutual respect. Finland has actively supported the shaping of a new South Africa and will continue to do so.

We have in recent days witnessed yet another example of brave and visionary leadership which can overcome seemingly insuperable obstacles and lead peoples from a state of war and hatred towards reconciliation. I am referring to the peace accord between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization. In this context I wish to pay a tribute to the Government of Norway for its role in bringing the two parties together. The United Nations must now stand ready to play its part in this important endeavour for peace. Finland, together with the other Nordic countries, was among the first to initiate an international support programme for this historic process.

The United Nations also has to its credit other achievements in recent years. Among the most important have been the rebuttal of the aggression against Kuwait and the restoration of democracy in Cambodia. However, numerous other conflicts have proved very difficult to solve. War is raging in the former Yugoslavia and in Somalia, Angola, Abkhazia and Nagorny-Karabakh. Conflicts persist in Western Sahara and Cyprus. All these conflicts constitute formidable challenges to the international community and to the United Nations.

From that balance sheet of success and failure an important question emerges: how can our Organization be best adapted, reformed and revitalized to face effectively not only the challenges of today but also those of tomorrow? Undoubtedly the United Nations is today a more viable institution than ever before. Nevertheless the many unsolved conflicts illustrate that the United Nations still has serious shortcomings. These stem primarily from the nature of the problems and challenges of the increasingly interdependent global society in which we live.

It is now our responsibility to launch a process of reform of the United Nations. It must cover all of the Organization's agencies, programmes and funds, in both the political and the development fields. It must be undertaken in an integrated manner, with a view to better adapting our instruments of cooperation to the needs of a profoundly changing world.

Many crises seem political in nature but have their roots in social injustices and a lack of economic opportunities. The fulfilment of social needs and the promotion of economic development are necessary elements of sustained political stability. Some significant improvements have been made in this field, too, but their scope and importance are clearly dwarfed by the immensity of the challenges. Human development, human rights and the environment are cases in point.

Thanks to the dynamic initiatives of our Secretary-General, a process of reform of the United Nations is under way. In addition, several Member States have introduced important proposals for reforming and restructuring our Organization. My own country, together with other Nordic countries, has actively participated in this process, particularly as regards peace-keeping and reform of the United Nations work in the economic and social sector and in the area of humanitarian assistance.

World events have forced the United Nations and its Member States to re-examine closely the Organization's capacity to maintain international peace and security. The Charter provisions as well as the structures and machinery created for this purpose reflect a world that was very different from the one we live in today. That is, of course, the reason for the great attention that has been accorded over the past year or two to what traditionally has been called peace-keeping. The concept of peace-keeping is, as a result of increasingly complex operations, going through a period of evolution. Related activities such as preventive

diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-building are the new tools for maintaining international peace and security.

The United Nations and its Member States must adjust to the rapid growth in and new approaches to peace-keeping operations. The President of the Security Council in his statement of May this year outlined the operational principles in accordance with which such operations should be conducted. My Government fully subscribes to these principles.

The great increase in requests for peace-keeping troops, military observers and monitors makes it necessary, in my Government's view, for the United Nations to adopt stricter and clearer criteria and procedures before launching such operations. The United Nations must not overextend itself; it cannot be present everywhere.

Mandates for peace-keeping operations must be precise and clear. The necessary funding must be secured, and before launching any operations the Security Council must see to it that the required contingents are available. Recent experiences also prove that command structures must be clearly spelled out and subsequently fully adhered too. It is not sufficient for the Security Council to agree on resolutions setting up new operations; all the conditions for their implementation must also be at hand.

We also face new challenges in disarmament and arms control. The nuclear arms race has stopped, but nuclear proliferation still constitutes a serious potential threat to international security and stability. It is vital to ensure that the Non-Proliferation Treaty regime works efficiently. In general, disarmament and arms regulation should be integrated into the broader agenda of international peace and security. This should be reflected both in the United Nations disarmament machinery and in the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. The review of the composition of the Conference on Disarmament would enhance this objective. We regret that no agreement on this issue has been reached so far.

The Security Council is vested with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. In carrying out its duties, the Council acts on behalf of the entire membership of the United Nations. Trust and confidence in the Council by all Member States is therefore a crucial factor, affecting its ability to engage in conflict resolution. It is only natural that a review be undertaken of the composition of the Security Council in order to make the Council better reflect today's membership as well as the prevailing political realities.

My Government has an open mind on this question. We are ready to accept a limited increase in the membership of the Council, provided that such a change will not affect negatively the capacity of the Council to perform its tasks. Moreover, there would seem to be a need to review the Council's organization and methods of work. The aim should be to increase transparency and to provide non-members better opportunities to be heard when matters of immediate concern to them are considered by the Council.

It would seem desirable - especially in negotiating the mandates and the financing of peace-keeping operations - to involve to a greater extent non-members of the Council also, as provided for by the Charter. Such involvement would be particularly called for in the case of those States that are potential contributors of troops and logistical support.

Work on revitalizing the General Assembly and rationalizing its activities is also under way. Certain improvements have already been introduced. However, further efforts have to be made to ensure a more meaningful and responsible role for the Assembly. To enhance the Assembly's standing and add weight to its resolutions it is, in our view, necessary to establish clear priorities. It is important to focus the work in the Assembly on these priorities and to reduce the number of items on its agenda.

Indeed, time has come to consider even some radical methods to enhance the effectiveness of the Assembly. One might ask whether a full-fledged General Assembly session every year is really necessary and productive. Alternatively, a high-level political debate and meetings of the Main Committees might be held every other year. Moreover, the President and the Bureau of a session of the General Assembly could perhaps be designated well before the end of the preceding session. That would permit the officers of the General Assembly and the Secretariat better to prepare the work of the General Assembly. These and other ideas merit further consideration.

The economic and social sectors of the United Nations, including the Economic and Social Council itself, are other areas where reforms are being actively discussed. The Nordic countries initiated a reform of the operational activities for development. Although there is virtual agreement on a number of reform issues, there are still details to be settled concerning the governance and financing of the development agencies of the United Nations. I hope that these much needed reforms can be

agreed upon by the end of November so that the new structures can be put in place as early as 1994.

During the discussions on the ongoing reforms it has become obvious that the extraordinary extent and rapidity of economic and social change, as well as the challenges of the global environment, necessitate reforms that are even much more profound. We must now devote our efforts to a reorientation of the United Nations system in this new and daunting environment. We should, in particular, clarify our thinking about the institutional and structural linkages between work on peace and security and work on sustainable development. Likewise, we should establish the true priorities in the economic and social sectors as well as in the United Nations system's relations with other international organizations. Such rethinking and reform cannot be carried out during one single session of the General Assembly. It will take a sustained effort over several years, which, in turn, presupposes a consensus on the basic outlines of a reform programme.

The shaping of a consensus is our primary task. The agenda for development which the Secretary-General will present will no doubt have a catalytic effect in this respect, as could the upcoming important conferences on population, social development and gender issues. The fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations will, in my view, provide a suitable occasion for launching such an ambitious, fundamental and visionary reform programme.

In order for the United Nations to function effectively it must have a solid executive branch, a Secretariat that has at its disposal sufficient human and financial resources. The Secretary-General has taken several steps to streamline the Secretariat and make it a more efficient tool for implementing the decisions of the Member States. But more needs to be done in order to permit the Secretariat to take initiatives and pursue its intellectual leadership role.

At a time when resources are scarce and so many new tasks have been entrusted to the United Nations, it is clear that a pruning of activities and rationalization of working methods must be done. The cutting of unnecessary and obsolete programmes must continue. It is the task of the Member States to give guidance to the Secretary-General, but also to draw conclusions and take the necessary decisions. The United Nations should apply the same policy of austerity as national Governments in the prevailing economic circumstances.

Perhaps the greatest concern for the United Nations today is the unwillingness of the great majority of Member States to pay their assessed contributions. My delegation has said time and again, and I will repeat it now: Payment of one's dues is not an option. It is an obligation falling on every Member, big or small. Let it be our collective birthday present to the United Nations at the fiftieth anniversary to see to it that by then there is full compliance with the obligation concerning payment of contributions.

Member States, in fulfilling their financial obligations towards the United Nations, have the right to expect full accountability for the resources placed at the disposal of the Organization. It is essential that the Organization exercise prudent economic management and constantly improve the internal control system. We therefore believe that ideas such as the creation of the post of an independent inspector general are well worth considering. The main objective must now be to restore the confidence of the Member States and the general public in our Organization. The United Nations cannot afford to have its public image and integrity tarnished by allegations of mismanagement.

As the United Nations approaches its fiftieth anniversary, humanity is faced with formidable challenges. Meeting them will not be easy. And yet, the United Nations now has a better chance than ever to use its full potential and show leadership for the sake of a better future. "We the peoples of the United Nations, ... united for a better world" has been chosen as the theme for the celebration of our fiftieth anniversary. Let us all together join in making this a reality.

Mr. KASENALLY (Mauritius): On behalf of the Mauritius delegation, it is my pleasure and privilege to extend to Mr. Insanally our heartiest congratulations on his election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session. We wish to assure him and members of his Bureau of our full cooperation and support in the tasks that lie ahead of them. The election of a representative of Guyana to the presidency of this Assembly is gratifying in more ways than one and underlines the fact that even the smallest of States belonging to this Organization has a role to play on the international scene and will not shy away from any responsibility that may be entrusted to it, however big the challenge.

We should also like to place on record our appreciation of his predecessor for the commendable manner in which he conducted the deliberations of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

Mauritius is pleased to welcome into the family of the United Nations its new Members: Andorra, the Czech Republic, Eritrea, Monaco, the Slovak Republic and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. We are hopeful that these new Members will uphold and strengthen the ideals enshrined in the Charter of this Organization and we look forward to their active participation in our deliberations.

It is important, in my delegation's view, that I address in the first instance an issue of prime concern to the functioning of our Organization. There is at present much debate and ambivalence about the future role and orientations of the United Nations. While it is generally accepted that the United Nations as a multilateral organization should adapt to and reflect the profound changes that have taken place since its founding, considerable doubt exists on what proposals and practical measures should be adopted to make the United Nations system more effective and forge it into a relevant instrument of global governance. Is the United Nations able to respond to the new demands, opportunities and challenges that have emerged especially since the end of the cold war and still remain true to its Charter? That the United Nations in recent years has already been able to play a more central role in world affairs and assume greater responsibilities in the wide range of social and political problems is an indication that it has earned the growing acceptance of the world community as a legitimate vehicle for addressing significant global issues.

However, beneath the prestige of regained moral stature and recognition that its ideals and message are still valid is the reality that the United Nations administrative structures and institutions are in dire need of reform. The United Nations system remains ill-equipped for the scope of its current operations and activities. The evolving nature of the United Nations will therefore have a crucial impact on the future shape and management of the post-cold-war international economic and political environment.

The current debate on revitalization and restructuring hinges on whether the United Nations should become more focused or more encompassing. Despite clear pronouncements for change at the level of the Assembly, the Security Council, social and economic organs and peace-keeping operations, it is evident that many Member States are neither expecting the process to result in any sweeping structural reforms nor contemplating a revision of the Charter.

Progress will therefore need to come from within, the result of a balancing act between divergent interests and political considerations. It would be unfortunate, however, if such an agreement were merely a reflection of a lowest common denominator rather than the product of genuine cooperation.

I concede that the reform of such an Organization is no easy task and requires the assistance of one and all. Last year the Mauritius delegation to the General Assembly commended the Secretary-General's efforts at reforming our Organization. I should like to reiterate our appreciation for what has been achieved so far and our support for the work currently being undertaken by the Secretary-General to revitalize the United Nations.

I remain convinced that the emerging global situation has brought the objective of restructuring the United Nations system within reach. Such reform should, in the end, cater for the aspirations of the peoples of this world and enable the Organization to respond favourably to the emerging new expectations.

The General Assembly, we believe, ought to be encouraged, by its increased membership and a general trend towards democratization, to assume a more preponderant place in the affairs of the Organization. It should strengthen its policy-making role, especially in the social and economic fields, so as to exercise greater balance with the Security Council, whose mandate is now expanding beyond the traditional delineation of threats to peace and security into such areas as human-rights violations and humanitarian assistance, through preventive diplomacy and innovative peace-keeping operations. Thus, while remaining the crucial forum for discussion, the General Assembly would increase its capacity to respond to major problems and take initiatives.

On the other hand, greater consensus among its members has enabled the Security Council to assert its authority and break new ground in authorizing the use of force under Chapter VII of the Charter - for example, in Somalia, where domestic jurisdiction would normally apply, or Yugoslavia, through preventive action. The Council has also had more frequent recourse to sanctions, using them on five occasions since 1990. The intensification of the United Nations presence has undeniably enhanced the reputation of the Organization. But it has also raised questions about the Council's composition and apprehension over its decision-making process.

The new responsibilities and importance assumed by the Council would justify, in our view, some form of enlargement to reflect the new level of membership of the United Nations. A more representative Council would earn recognition and legitimate acceptance and be able to take action quickly and effectively with the imprimatur of fairness.

The Council could, we believe, withstand changes and still retain its main executive function, while improving at the same time its coordination with other United Nations bodies, such as the General Assembly.

Peace-keeping has become one of the major responsibilities of the Council. The rapid expansion of peace-keeping operations and the huge involvement of United Nations personnel in this area have boosted confidence in the Organization and given it a higher international profile. Unfortunately, peace-keeping is also becoming a heavy burden in terms of financial and human resources, which threatens to curtail the Organization's involvement in other priority areas. Peace-keeping should not be confined merely to narrow security objectives, excluding broader considerations of non-military threats to security.

The Security Council has, in fact, special responsibility in shaping the future of peace-keeping as an effective safeguard in areas of conflict, or potential conflict, in volatile domestic or regional situations where major threats to international peace reside today.

However, as the Secretary-General notes in his report on the implementation of the recommendations of his "Agenda for Peace",

> "Peace-keeping is in a state of rapid evolution as the United Nations is asked to undertake increasingly complex and dangerous tasks." *(A/47/965, para. 26)*

As the mandate of peace-keeping operations extends beyond their traditional domain into such areas as electoral assistance, humanitarian relief activities, human-rights monitoring, assistance for nation-building, border-monitoring and sanctions enforcement, clearer peace-keeping guidelines and standards, based on properly defined mandates and adequate financial support, become essential. Within the parameters of fundamental principles and their interpretation, peace-keeping operations should be designed to work. The United Nations has made good use of the lessons of concrete and painful experience.

Mauritius, for its part, would like to suggest that when carrying out the reform exercise we should not only address the issues of financial resources or expansion of the membership of the Security Council, but also look at matters of concern raised in other forums and their attendant consequences for this Organization. We should, hence, not fail to give due attention to the principles contained in the Declaration on International Economic Cooperation, adopted at the eighteenth special session of the General Assembly, especially with respect to the rejuvenation of equitable economic growth and development. We must bear clearly in mind other new and globally agreed programmes, such as the New Agenda for the Development of Africa, Agenda 21, which came out of the Rio Conference, and the recommendations of the second World Conference on Human Rights.

Any changes in the structure of the United Nations should be the product of as large a consensus as possible, in order to preserve the credibility of our Organization, and in this task we must be guided inexorably by the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

However, while we uphold this spirit, it is our opinion that serious consideration should be given to a review of the provisions of the Charter. A rereading of the Charter would enable us to look anew at its contents and allow us to propose amendments in the light of new world realities. I also urge that the Assembly insist on greater clarity in its resolutions. This will certainly facilitate action and prevent time lost discussing varying interpretations of resolutions.

No doubt, one of the most striking events since the last session of the General Assembly has been the second World Conference on Human Rights, held in Vienna in June of this year. The Conference was an opportunity to review the evolution of the attitudes of the peoples of the world towards the upholding of the rights and dignity of man since the first World Conference on Human Rights, which was held in Tehran in 1968. The quarter of a century that separates the holding of these two Conferences has witnessed a lot of changes, notably the assertion of those States which emerged from the demise of colonization.

In Vienna, both the old and the new players in the world's human rights forums were able to put forward their concerns and aspirations. The discussions, though not always easy, had the advantage of being frank. We in Mauritius firmly believe that the end result of the Conference will be beneficial to the protection of the rights

of the individual. We must see to it, however, that the provisions of the Vienna Declaration and Plan of Action are implemented and do not become mere additional documents in the international archives. In this context, I wish yet again to make a special appeal to this Assembly for a substantial increase in the resources of the Centre for Human Rights to enable it to attend to its responsibilities with consistency and efficiency and thus contribute more effectively to the universal upholding of human rights.

Mauritius wishes to reiterate, in the most forceful manner possible, its support for the recommendation of the second World Conference on Human Rights that this Assembly address urgently the need to establish a post of United Nations high commissioner for human rights. It is our sincere hope that a favourable decision will be reached to reflect the wishes of the peoples of the world. Such an office would play the necessary role of coordinating United Nations work on human rights and would be the focal point for upholding human rights norms.

In keeping with its stand on human rights issues, Mauritius would also like to state its support for the responsibilities assigned to the International Tribunal for the prosecution of those responsible for the serious crimes committed against humanity in the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1 January 1991. We would like to congratulate all those eminent persons who have been elected to sit on this Tribunal and wish them well in their difficult task.

Indeed, we view with great concern and sadness the atrocities and untold sufferings endured by the peoples of the former Republic of Yugoslavia, particularly the children. Let the impartial conclusions of the Tribunal serve as a lesson to those who believe they can get away with such degrading actions, such disrespect for human life. The seriousness and steadfastness with which the Tribunal carries out its duty will bear witness to the fact that the world community does not remain insensitive and will not be complacent in the face of such despicable and reprehensible acts wherever and whenever they occur. Yet as this century of our so-called civilized world fades away, the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina will be written with the blood of thousands of innocent men, women and children.

Earlier this year the world exulted at the news that France, the United States of America and the Russian Federation had voluntarily extended their moratoriums on nuclear testing. It is heartening to observe that 1993 may yet be the year when the world will have enjoyed the longest respite from nuclear testing and its attendant consequences, despite the recent disturbing reports pointing to the possibility of a resumption of nuclear testing by certain countries. No one doubts the nuclear strength of the countries which have made the moratorium a policy and it is to their credit that they have so far not been tempted to show their might by resuming nuclear testing.

It is our sincere wish that members of the nuclear club adhere to their declared moratoriums, for the resumption of nuclear testing by any of those States would jeopardize the 1995 conference for the review and extension of the non-proliferation Treaty, and would, to our mind, inevitably undermine the current efforts aimed at global disarmament.

It would be unrealistic on our part not to recognize that, despite uncertainties and ongoing foyers of tension, the world political climate has improved considerably. As cold war rivalry faded, significant bilateral progress was made with the conclusion of the START Treaties and the subsequent agreements for reduction in the respective nuclear arsenals of the erstwhile super-Powers. These positive efforts were reinforced internationally by the decision of a number of States, including France, China and South Africa, to adhere to the non-proliferation Treaty at a crucial phase in its review process.

Such encouraging developments bode well for all small nations like ours whose safety rests upon the foundations of a reliable collective security system. The recent historic agreement between the PLO and Israel and the imminent constitution of a democratic non-racial South Africa should pave the way for rapid progress towards the denuclearization of Africa. Likewise, we note with great satisfaction the consensus emerging in the deliberations of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean to adopt new approaches in response to the changing international situation and give fresh impetus to the process of strengthening cooperation, peace, security and stability in the Indian Ocean region. The increased participation in this year's session suggests that the General Assembly could accordingly consider broadening the Committee's mandate.

Success at the regional level depends largely on a global atmosphere that is conducive to disarmament. We wish therefore to reiterate, in this perspective, the importance of the current negotiations for the review of the NPT and the conclusion of a test ban which should provide non-nuclear States with firm security assurances and address the various issues of nuclear proliferation. The

threat of the spreading of smaller nuclear weapons is compounded by the availability of weapons-grade nuclear material produced from plutonium and highly enriched uranium and the relative lack of proper commercial safeguards. To these dangers must be added the potential hazard of nuclear pollution and the dumping of toxic wastes.

Casting a glance at the world in general, we have reason to hope for the advent of peace in the various hitherto violence-ridden regions of our planet in a not-too-distant future. On the African continent, we note a trend towards solutions to difficult situations. In Mozambique, we salute the signing of the General Peace Agreement for Mozambique between the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO, the Mozambique national resistance movement. We commend the positive contribution of the United Nations operations in Mozambique. We urge the leaders concerned to show sufficient flexibility in the current negotiations aimed at elaborating appropriate electoral laws for the country.

South Africa is another source of hope. We in Mauritius have been following very closely the evolution of discussions in the multiparty negotiating forum and are particularly appreciative of the resolution adopted unanimously by the Technical Negotiating Council on 16 August 1993, which endorses the return of Walvis Bay and the offshore islands to Namibia. We have had the opportunity to congratulate those responsible for this very positive step, which we also applaud as a confidence-building measure in that region.

We welcome the installation of the Transitional Executive Council and wish to pledge our readiness - as a country which has made, in its own modest way, its share of contributions to the democratization process across the world - to help in the preparations leading to the elections of 27 April 1994.

The capacity to dismantle apartheid, establish the basis of a new constitution by consensus, and agree on an election date within a few years is no mean achievement. However, whilst many rapid and positive changes are taking place, South Africa continues to be plagued by ceaseless violence. Time and again we have deplored the upsurge of violence which has cost the lives of several of Africa's most illustrious sons, among them the sorely missed Chris Hani. We therefore welcome wholeheartedly the proposal to establish a national peace force in South Africa, made up of representatives of all parties, which would be entrusted with the task of preventing violence in particularly volatile areas. The creation of this mechanism shows the determination and ardent desire of all in South Africa to resolve outstanding issues and to proceed as planned for violence-free elections in April of next year.

Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji (Zaire), Vice-President, took the Chair.

In Somalia, we have been distressed by the senseless killing of members of the United Nations Forces as well as Somali civilians. The skirmishes being witnessed in Somalia have regrettably shifted world attention away from the starving millions to manhunts. Women and children dying daily for want of food have been relegated insignificantly to the backstage. Mauritius would like to call on the leaders of the various Somali factions to revert to the agreement reached in Addis Ababa and submit themselves to the peace-keeping process within the context of the recently established Organization of African Unity (OAU) Mechanism for the Prevention, Management and Resolution of Conflicts. Our fervent appeal to all those bent on perpetuating the blood bath in Somalia is to heed the concerns of the international community and indeed act in the interests of the Somali people rather than in their own selfish interests.

In our Indian Ocean region, on an issue of direct concern to us, I am happy to say that meaningful dialogue on the Chagos Archipelago is taking place with the United Kingdom authorities.

While we hail the success of the United Nations in Cambodia, we cannot but decry the atrocious situation in Angola, where thousands of lives are done away with daily. The question that must be asked is this: to what end will a country depleted of its human resources serve those who, in their desperation to be at the helm of affairs, are ready to sacrifice countless lives and lay waste that very country? We exhort Mr. Savimbi and his UNITA to come to terms with reality and accept the will of the Angolan people as expressed through the ballot box.

Outside the African continent, the Middle East, which has witnessed one of the most bitter conflicts of the century, heralds a new era. There is cause for satisfaction in the knowledge that the peace process which began at the Madrid Conference in October 1991 has taken a decisive turn with Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) extending mutual and official recognition to each other. Let us hope that the plan for Palestinian self-rule in Gaza and Jericho is but a prelude to Israel's complete

withdrawal from the occupied territories, a *sine qua non* for a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

As I said earlier, we have reason to rejoice at the thought of more peaceful days in various areas of the world. However, this prospect is marred by other concerns. In Fiji the long-awaited review of the Constitution has not yet taken place, with the unfortunate result that the electoral system is in stagnation. We feel that meaningful changes in the Constitution, as promised by the Fijian authorities, will restore confidence in the Fijian community and will bring about smoother relations in the country for the benefit of all. Mauritius, as a multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-ethnic society, is willing, in all humility, to share with Fijian authorities the benefits of its own experience of harmonious living and to assist, should it be so wished, in the review of the Constitution.

While there are promising developments in the world, the global economy continues to evoke distress. The long-awaited economic recovery in developed countries continues to be inconsistent and uneven; global economic stability remains more elusive than ever. Economic growth and development proper are the only durable, effective and equitable solution to instability and to a host of other associated problems facing the world. We believe, therefore, that it is the concern of the entire world to ponder seriously a new form of multilateralism which would ensure systematic coordination of policies involving all groups of countries.

We believe that the rapid internationalization of the world economy points to the urgency to resume North-South dialogue constructively and in a spirit of cooperation and understanding. This dialogue should become an instrument for the promotion of economic growth in developing countries and should address world economic problems practically, instead of remaining a mere slogan interspersed now and again by half-measures aimed more at placating genuine concerns of the South than at evolving a workable long-term policy to bridge the ever-widening gap between the North and the South with immediate, medium-term and long-term solutions to the exasperating problems that plague most developing countries.

The efforts of most developing economies are compromised by the consequences of unbridled protectionism, deteriorating commodity prices, acute debt problems, declining financial flows, poverty and unfavourable terms for the transfer of technology. However, in the face of the unfair competition that continues to hold sway on the international trade scene, we should ensure, for example, that the provisions of the Lomé Convention that binds the European Economic Community with the Asian, Caribbean and Pacific group of countries are upheld in any multilateral trade negotiations.

We in Mauritius are eager for a balanced outcome of the Uruguay Round and have therefore been extremely disappointed at the scant attention paid to the interests of the developing countries which are vulnerable to shifts in the world economic order. The ongoing negotiations have turned out to be primarily a battle of wits and nerves among the developed countries. We have studied the latest proposals from Geneva with attention, and our frank reaction is one of consternation and dismay.

What is proposed is a cataclysmic operation which calls for the system to be completely refounded, the structures that exist to be razed, and the groupings within which we conduct our foreign trade to be dismantled. What is suggested by the major negotiators is a change so convulsive that only the most resilient economies will emerge unscathed.

Mauritius considers this situation to be most unfair, unjust and, above all, counter-productive, in the long run. Mauritius, which has an open economy banking on export-led growth, is in favour of free trade and liberalization of exchanges with due regard for the acquired rights of various groups of developing countries. We believe, however, that such change must come about through an orderly, evolutionary process that will give ample time for adaptation, rather than through external imposition which has little consideration for factors other than economic. We therefore appeal to all contracting parties to strive earnestly for a conclusion of the Uruguay Round that will take into account the difficulties of the developing countries and the particular situation of small island States.

Both the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development and the General Assembly have recognized the specificities of small island States and the attention that should be given to them in view of the special case they constitute in the interrelation of environment and development. These States are characterized by their limited size in relation to the length of their coastline, limited natural resources, relative geographical isolation, extremely fragile and vulnerable ecosystem and a vast expanse of seas forming part of their territorial limits. For small island nations the ocean and

the coastal environment are hence of primary importance and constitute a basic development resource.

The record of the United Nations in the social and economic fields is a mixed one. Its contribution to global awareness and respect for human rights and democratic values is undisputed. The Rio and Vienna Conferences were landmarks of global cooperation, despite divergent perceptions on the strengthening of relevant institutions and adoption of concrete measures.

Such cooperation could in our view be developed by maintaining a strong role for the Commission on Sustainable Development and by choosing a feasible and incremental approach to implementing the commitments made by Governments under Agenda 21. In this regard, we look forward to the fruitful preparations for the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States and its successful outcome in Barbados next year, as the first test case in the ongoing Rio process. We also feel that the General Assembly should seriously consider establishing an intersessional mechanism to complete the work of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference.

We, for our part, are as committed as any of those who have made the protection of the global environment their *leitmotif*. We have ratified the Climate Change Convention, the Biodiversity Convention, the Montreal Protocol and the Basel and the Bamako Conventions, among other instruments. Our concern is to safeguard the world and ensure the well-being of those who live in it.

(spoke in French)

Let me pursue my thoughts on participation by small States in international life by calling attention to the fact that in a few weeks Mauritius will have the honour to host the fifth Summit of French-speaking Countries and by saying a few words about the two principal themes that will be addressed by Heads of State or Government of countries that share the use of the French language: human rights and development; and unity in diversity.

Those timely questions illustrate our concerns at a time when the world is undergoing profound change and when most of our countries continue to face challenges of development. My country wants to make its own contribution, however modest, to the thought of the French-speaking world and the rest of the international community so that mankind may see - based on the example of Mauritius - that peaceful coexistence in a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic culture is no mere Utopian idea.

I wish to thank the Secretary-General, a great friend of the French-speaking world, for having agreed, despite his weighty responsibilities, to honour us with his presence at a Summit that will bring together, at the highest level, delegations from 47 countries and from all continents.

(spoke in English)

As members will appreciate, we small States are nevertheless doing our best to make our share of contributions in order to bequeath to future generations an environmentally clean world, a world free of want, a world free of war, a world where peace and harmony will prevail. Can we expect the same from those with mightier resources?

Mr. ÇETIN (Turkey): At the outset, I wish to congratulate Ambassador Insanally on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly. The fact that he was selected to guide our deliberations signifies the confidence that Member States have in his well-known professional qualities. I am sure that, under his guidance, the present session of the Assembly will tackle the issues on its agenda with courage and realism.

I would also like to place on record our appreciation for the competence and wisdom of his predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Stoyan Ganev, and for his outstanding performance in steering the work of the General Assembly during an eventful year.

My delegation takes joyful pride in welcoming Andorra, the Czech Republic, Eritrea, Macedonia, Monaco and the Slovak Republic to the family of nations. We believe that their admission represents yet another milestone in further consolidating the universality of this Organization. There is no doubt that our community will be enriched and strengthened by their contribution to the realization of the ideals of the United Nations.

The excitement and hopefulness of 1989 already seem to be part of a distant past. We both welcomed and were unprepared for the events that marked the dramatic end of the cold war. They generated a tidal wave of optimism about the future of international relations. Fervent talk about a rapidly changing world was the order of the day when we entered the present decade. Little was done, however, to determine and shape the dynamics and scope of the change. It was more or less taken for granted that

this change would turn out to be for the better. That did not prove to be the case. Accordingly, the creation of a new, desirable international system continues to top the political agenda as the most challenging task of our times.

The past 12 months have demonstrated yet again that the new world in the making might at times be as dangerous as the old, if not worse in certain respects. Nevertheless, we should resist the impulse to indulge in a dark pessimism for which there can be no legitimate cause. The crucial phase of history we are going through calls for reflection and positive action, not a defeatist mood. The international community should not stand by in desperation and watch conditions deteriorate. It must display the will to redirect the course of history towards our expectations. There definitely exists a political space for constructive initiatives and a basis for cooperative action to that end.

It is the United Nations which defines and guards that political space. Indeed, the United Nations is the foremost symbol of modern internationalism. In these turbulent post-cold-war years, hardly a day passes without the Organization being called upon to take the lead on some important task. These tasks include missions for preserving or restoring peace and security, the upholding of the rule of law, and missions to ensure the survival of mankind, to help save the environment, to combat social scourges and to rescue the so-called failing societies.

Since the cold war drew to a close and the conflicts of the transition era rose to the fore, United Nations peace-keeping operations have undergone considerable expansion in terms of their functions, size, geographical area and degree of complexity. This process has occurred in tandem with the rapid evolution of the international landscape. The same background conditions have prompted the emergence of preventive diplomacy, peace-enforcement and peace-building as new concepts awaiting urgent translation into practical and mutually supportive instruments at the disposal of the international community. Turkey's response to this urgency is reflected in our contribution to peace-keeping operations

As highlighted in the Secretary-General's report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277), effectively managing of the crises currently confronting us and responding adequately to the challenges ahead call for the elaboration of a shared vision for the future of our Organization.

In this connection, the focus of priority attention should be the Security Council. Today, the prestige and credibility of the United Nations depend more than ever on the effectiveness of that principal body. There is a widespread call for the Security Council to become more responsive to the needs of the current international scene. This can be made possible only by making the Council more representative of the new geopolitical realities. In other words, the post-cold-war environment requires a fresh approach towards the Council's renovation and restructuring. Hence, the discussion on the twin themes of equitable representation and membership enlargement is very timely.

Turkey firmly believes that enlarging the Security Council membership would enhance its effectiveness. Enlargement should not be conceived of only as an increase in the number of members, but should also envisage the creation of a new category of seats to be held by States that could be qualified as semi-permanent members. Semi-permanent membership in the Council could rotate among a specific number of States designated according to certain objective criteria: population; geopolitical posture; economic potential; record of contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security; and equitable geographical distribution. Since Turkey fully meets these criteria, it considers itself qualified as a candidate for that new category of membership.

A Security Council more responsive, representative, transparent and accountable is a requirement inherent in the spirit of Article 24 of the Charter. Hence, the democratization of its structure would ensure more active participation in the Council's work. The moral ground for the full implementation of the Council's resolutions would thereby be strengthened.

Few, if any, would contest the fact that it was the tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina that dispelled the euphoria prevalent during the earlier period of the post-cold-war era. Genocide and "ethnic cleansing" were the hallmarks of the tragedy. They were conducted with impunity. We could neither halt, nor roll back the Serbian aggression. Nor could we alleviate, in earnest the suffering of the survivors.

The example of a civic State, embracing all its citizens as equals, irrespective of their ethnic origin or religion, was given to us in Bosnia where a mature multicultural civilization had evolved over many centuries. No lament over its destruction at the hands of ethnic chauvinism could be exaggerated. Moreover, denying the Bosnians the means for their legitimate self-defence

amounts to a failure in due support for democracy against tyranny. A most serious blow has been dealt to the moral essence of international law and to the contemporary principles of conduct among nations.

Any document endorsing the consequences of expansionism, genocide and "ethnic cleansing" cannot usher in real peace. No peace throughout history has been lasting when based on rewarding injustice, aggression and racism. We cannot relieve our conscience by fabricating *realpolitik* excuses for our inaction and silence. Appeasement is no policy, but partnership in wrongdoing.

The stakes in Bosnia are much higher than those related to the survival of the Bosnian State and its people. They include the validity of our hope to do away with ethnic and religious warfare in the future. The betrayal of Bosnia as a multicultural, multi-ethnic State, invalidates this hope - and with it the fundamental principles of our Organization. If we allow dictatorship and adventurism to get away with the crimes they have committed in Bosnia, the post-cold-war disorder may worsen. Continued denial of the right of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to defend itself aggravates the responsibility of the international community for what is happening there. Should Bosnia and Herzegovina disintegrate, not only the Balkans and Europe, but the whole world, will eventually suffer the bitter after-effects.

Turkey will continue to pursue actively the course of justice and legitimacy to support the brave people of Bosnia and Herzegovina in their struggle for survival and democracy.

The sinister success of Serbian expansionism in Bosnia has emboldened aggressors elsewhere. A tragedy of similar proportions is occurring in the Caucasus, where Armenians have occupied a fifth of Azerbaijani territory. Peace and stability in a sensitive region neighbouring Turkey has been seriously undermined. Security Council resolutions 822 (1993) and 853 (1993), calling for the immediate, unconditional and complete withdrawal of the occupation forces, are being ignored.

It should be borne in mind that short-term military opportunism is not compatible with long-term interests. Moreover, it is fraught with unpredictable dangers. Neither in the Balkans nor in the Caucasus - nor, for that matter, anywhere else - will Turkey ever accept the acquisition of territory by force. Unless such gross violations of international law are prevented and the principles of the United Nations Charter vigorously upheld, the present turmoil and confusion cannot be replaced by a just and peaceful order.

It is with these thoughts in mind that Turkey strongly endorses the observations made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in his statement on 30 August last, at the sixty-sixth session of the Institute of International Law in Milan. There he appropriately referred to ultra-nationalism and micro-nationalism as two of the greatest dangers menacing today's international society. He underlined that, by strengthening the nation State as the main subject of international law, multilateralism preserves the world community from these two great perils. His admonition that

> "Ultra-nationalism today may still be a temptation, at times, for a number of major Powers nostalgic for the period of hegemony"

is of particular relevance at this juncture of post-cold-war developments.

Indeed, the darkening shadows of ultra-nationalism and micro-nationalism, ethnic chauvinism and neo-racism have loomed like phantoms behind the scenes in the crises that have erupted during the last two years. The international community has to cure itself of these diseases. We should not let irredentist, hegemonic tendencies plague our future. The newly emerging geopolitical pluralism of Eurasia has to be kept alive with a moral commitment to the quest for global democratic interdependence.

Most of the threats to international peace in our time are bred in climates of intolerance. We have to develop a new mind-set for the recognition and acknowledgment of other peoples' right to be different. We have to enlarge our capacity for give and take.

Tolerance is the foundation of civil society. To build a just and peaceful world order, such societies must proliferate. To that end, we need to promote a culture of tolerance all over the world.

In this spirit, and as a follow-up to resolution 47/124, Turkey will submit during the current session a draft resolution proposing the proclamation of 1995 as the United Nations Year for Tolerance. Adoption of that draft resolution would help to accelerate the pace of the efforts made in the struggle against all forms of fanaticism, fundamentalism, discrimination and persecution.

Tolerance and social development are correlated concepts. Accordingly, my Government attaches great importance to concerted action at the global level aimed at solving social problems and easing the tensions they cause. Hence, we are amply satisfied that the Chilean initiative for the convening in March 1995 of a World Summit for Social Development has borne fruit. Turkey will prepare for this Summit in earnest, and looks forward to contributing to its success.

In this connection, Turkey welcomes the Secretary-General's latest report on the work of the organization, in which he courageously addresses the gravity of the situation stemming from the difficulty in raising funds for development aid experienced since the end of the cold war. He accurately observes that the poorer countries no longer hold the same interest for the rich as they did in the previous decades of ideological competition. My Government believes that activities for development are just as important as peace-keeping operations. Indeed, it is those activities, including their humanitarian assistance dimension, which provide the foundations for global peace and security. Turkey, stretching its budgetary means to the utmost, continues to be increasingly active as a donor and contributor in the fields of economic and humanitarian support and solidarity.

Since the beginning of 1992 we have implemented an economic assistance package amounting to $2,893 million. The package includes technical assistance, project financing, training grants and soft loans, made available to 32 countries in four continents. We are firmly committed to continuing our efforts in this domain. To increase efficiency in terms of coordination, we have set up the Turkish International Cooperation Agency.

Over the same period 28 countries in three continents, stricken by natural and/or man-made disasters, have received humanitarian aid worth a total of $213 million from Turkey, in cash or in kind, as well as various forms of relief and accommodation for refugees.

Offering as they do a gloomy general picture, the past 12 months are nevertheless not totally bereft of reasons for optimism, which include: the processes culminating in the restoration of democracy in Haiti and Cambodia; the positive developments leading towards the building of a democratic, united, free and non-racial South Africa; and the peaceful evolution of Eritrea to independence. A new diplomacy for democracy seems to be making headway. All of us must bring our full energies to bear on this phenomenon so that it may gain momentum. That momentum, in its turn, will give impetus to the consolidation of peace, because democracies seldom fight each other.

The only way to advance towards democracy is progressive and sustained democratization. The distance covered in this process is measured by the degree of respect for human rights and the rule of law. The convening of the World Conference on Human Rights earlier this year enabled the international community to identify clearly the indispensable common denominators needed in the building of pluralistic civil societies. The Conference re-emphasized the importance of the global task of promoting and protecting all human rights and fundamental freedoms, and confirmed the commitment of the international community to securing the full and universal enjoyment of those rights through increased and sustained international cooperation and solidarity.

The Vienna Declaration includes a comprehensive definition of terrorism as any activity aiming at the destruction of human rights, fundamental freedoms and democracy, threatening the territorial integrity of States and destabilizing legitimately constituted Governments. We strongly endorse the call by the Conference to continue taking the necessary steps to prevent and combat terrorism.

The historic breakthrough achieved in the Middle East peace process holds the promise of concord and cooperation not only between the Palestinians, Israel and their Arab neighbours, but on a much wider regional scale. Its positive ripple effects may set in motion multi-dimensional dynamics that could transform an entire area, stretching from the Atlantic to the Gulf and from the eastern Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, into one of harmony, dialogue and co-prosperity.

As a country that neighbours the Middle East, has a record of constructive involvement in the region's affairs and good traditional ties with all the parties to this dispute, Turkey hails with the utmost satisfaction this momentous shift from enmity towards reconciliation.

The momentum so gained should be fully utilized. Irreversibility of the process is not enough; the process must advance at an accelerated pace towards the ultimate objectives defined in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

The wise, far-sighted and courageous architects who designed this blueprint for rebuilding amity and peace in the Middle East may, as ever, rest assured of Turkey's firm

support for and contribution to their mission. We are committed to assisting their endeavours in every way.

Three years after the outbreak of the Gulf crisis the people of Iraq are still subjected to hardship. This regrettable situation results from the Baghdad Government's reluctance to comply fully with the requirements of the Security Council resolutions relating to the Gulf War settlement. Compliance would tangibly demonstrate Iraq's interest in resuming its place in the international community.

However, we cannot remain indifferent to the suffering of the people of Iraq. My Government firmly believes that the international community must urgently consider imaginative ways to break this vicious circle.

Turkey has been forthcoming in providing Iraq with humanitarian assistance since 1991. By the same token, we have decided to launch a new humanitarian assistance programme worth $13.5 million aimed at the entire needy population of northern Iraq. Our approach is without prejudice to Iraq's sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

Along with the Iraqi people, a number of countries, particularly Iraq's neighbours, are also exposed to the adverse effects of the continued economic sanctions. The international community should also devise a set of measures aimed at redressing their mounting losses.

My Government is concerned over the worsening situation in Jammu and Kashmir. We wish to see the dispute between Pakistan and India over the Kashmir issue resolved through the resumption of sustained dialogue. To that end, Turkey will continue to support Pakistan's endeavours in pursuit of a negotiated settlement of this long-standing problem.

As to Cyprus, it is certainly not my intention to indulge in a consideration of the past. I am quite aware that this is not the time, not would it be profitable, to enter into recriminations over history. What is important is to understand the issue correctly while acknowledging the facts underlying the present problems and the profound mistrust between the two communities. We must take careful account of those problems and the present difficulties, but we must build for the future.

Today the Cyprus question has reached a stage where the common desire and purpose of the international community is to promote an early and comprehensive solution. To that end, the Secretary-General continues his mission of good offices. As ever, Turkey supports the Secretary-General's efforts aimed at bringing about a freely negotiated, just and viable settlement. No doubt the realization of that objective requires a display of goodwill, understanding and patience by both negotiating partners in the island. Moreover, it also calls for a carefully balanced and determined approach in order to heal the profound mistrust driving the parties apart. It is with such considerations that Turkey has endorsed the concept of confidence-building measures, the scope and contents of which must be acceptable to both communities.

Whatever the reasons that may still divide the two sides, the negotiating process must continue. It is high time for all concerned to display realism and act with vision in search of a negotiated, durable solution.

At present a campaign is under way for early general elections in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. We earnestly hope that once the elections are over the Turkish Cypriot side will again be able to continue to play its constructive role in the negotiating process.

Turkey lies at the very epicentre of several regions making up the most turbulent part of the Northern hemisphere. We are actively engaged in the post-cold-war search for new approaches to build peace through multilateral action. Our objective is to reinforce the international security system. Only the United Nations can provide legitimacy to regional arrangements and institutions should the latter decide to act in the fields of militarily backed preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping and peace enforcement.

All three of those categories of action are in demand on Turkey's periphery. My Government deploys all of its available assets to help defuse and resolve these crises. We strive to create and consolidate interlinked areas of solidarity and processes of cooperation.

In that effort we proceed from two basic tenets. First, we believe that the evolution of the international environment towards a better future is not only desirable but, in certain conditions, also possible. Secondly, we are of the opinion that such a future may materialize only through the reinforcement of respect for the rule of law along with the universal observance and implementation of the principles of democracy and tolerance.

The United Nations was created to preserve peace. However, it cannot be expected to help resolve the

collective security problems of our times unless its Member States are willing and prepared to assume their responsibilities as upholders and enforcers of the United Nations Charter and the contemporary norms of international behaviour.

With the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Organization to be celebrated in two years' time, all of us here must admit that the main objective defined in the Charter, namely, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," has not yet been achieved. In the strengthening of peace and security our immediate task is fully to mobilize the potential of the United Nations for resolving regional and local conflicts, which have proliferated since the end of the cold war.

For the future well-being of all nations, it is high time to act with the vision and forbearance that peace requires. Turkey stands committed to continue making its own contribution to attaining that objective.

Mrs. BONGO (Gabon) *(interpretation from French)*: I should like first to take this opportunity to extend to the delegation of India the sincerest condolences of the delegation of Gabon on the earthquake that has just hit the region of Sholapur.

The present session of the General Assembly is convened at a crucial juncture in the history of international relations. A number of significant events have occurred on the world stage in the past few years.

In that context the election of Ambassador Samuel Insanally as President of the General Assembly is particularly significant. It is a tribute not only to his qualities as an enlightened diplomatic, well versed in international questions, but to the tireless work of Guyana, his country, on behalf of peace. On behalf of the delegation of Gabon, I extend to him our warmest congratulations on his election to preside over this session.

Our congratulations also go to the outgoing President, Mr. Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria, who discharged his duties so honourably and ably.

To our Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, I repeat our firm support for his many efforts on behalf of world peace and security.

Lastly, we should like to welcome the new countries that have just joined the great family of the United Nations and to assure them of our friendship and readiness to work with them to achieve the noble purposes for the attainment of which the Organization was founded.

The end of the cold war has made it possible to establish new kinds of relations between States and to open the way to a new era of hope, peace and solidarity, promoting conflict prevention, better ways of dealing with acute problems and the settlement of many of the conflicts threatening international peace and security.

It is from that perspective that we should view the recent initiatives which the Organization and the international community have undertaken.

Gabon welcomes with great interest the most recent political developments in South Africa. We welcome the creation of a Transitional Executive Council, which will allow South Africans for the first time to take part in building a new, democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. In that spirit, we urge all other parties to accede to the agreement creating the Council and hope they will work towards its full implementation. Gabon believes that the changes taking place in South Africa will have a definite impact on the democratization process in Africa and on the continent's development. We therefore hope that the appeal made here on 24 September 1993 by President Nelson Mandela for the lifting of economic sanctions and the establishment of diplomatic relations with South Africa will be heard and acted upon.

In Somalia too many innocent victims continue to pay the heavy daily price of violence. While praising the efforts of the United Nations to bring peace and national reconciliation to the country, we believe that the time has perhaps come for the international community to give priority to the path of dialogue and negotiation.

The situation in Liberia remains a source of concern, despite the hopes raised by the signing of the Cotonou Agreement on 25 July 1993. We call on the parties concerned to begin strict implementation of that Agreement. We make a similar appeal to the parties to the conflicts in Mozambique, Rwanda and Angola.

Turning specifically to Angola, I note that the optimism prevailing after the Bicesse Peace Accords soon gave way to disappointment born of the resumption of hostilities. In that brother country, so close to my own, the perpetuation of the situation leads me to praise the tireless efforts of the United Nations and all other initiatives aimed at restoring peace and security. As in the past, Gabon will

spare no efforts to help achieve a lasting settlement of that conflict.

In the Middle East the mutual recognition of Israel and the PLO, as well as the recent signing of the interim arrangements for the autonomy of Gaza and Jericho, were welcomed with relief and deep satisfaction by my country. We dare hope that this historic agreement will promote reconciliation between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples and the establishment of a climate of peace and cooperation in the region.

In that regard, my country supports all United Nations initiatives, particularly Security Council resolution 833 (1993), aimed at ensuring respect for the inviolability of the international boundary between Iraq and Kuwait, in accordance with the terms of the 1963 arrangements.

In South-East Asia we welcome the decisive role played by the United Nations in the restoration of peace in Cambodia. The holding of free and fair elections in May 1993, the creation of the Constituent Assembly, and the return to the throne of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk all illustrate the United Nations commitment and the confirmed solidarity of the international community.

The tragedy unfolding in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the serious threat of the conflict's spreading to the entire subregion are a source of concern for my country. We make an urgent appeal to the parties concerned to return to the negotiating table and lay down their arms.

The Conferences recently held in Vienna and Geneva on human rights and the protection of the victims of war, respectively, were opportunities for our Organization to reaffirm its commitment to defending human rights. Gabon, which has always given these questions their due consideration, encourages all United Nations efforts to protect human rights. It would thus be appropriate to strengthen existing structures with additional human and financial resources so as to promote the efficiency sought by our Organization in this area.

Never has our Organization been called on to such a degree by the international community as in the past few years. If it is to meet all the expectations, it must adapt its main organs to the demands of the times. We welcome the ongoing reform and revitalization process and hope that it will include consideration of equitable representation in the Security Council and an increase in the number of its members.

One area which our Organization must explore further is that of preventive diplomacy, as set forth by the Secretary-General in his "An Agenda for Peace". Reflecting that trend, the Organization of African Unity has just created machinery to prevent, manage and settle conflicts. If it is to be effective, this new machinery must be integrated into the framework of global disarmament.

The progress made by last 13 January, when the chemical-weapons Convention was signed, shows the international community's determination to ban weapons of mass destruction, particularly chemical weapons, and its readiness to work for general and complete disarmament. For its part, my country is working towards that end, just as it is promoting confidence-building measures in central Africa. It was in keeping with this involvement that we hosted the third meeting of the Permanent Consultative Committee on security questions in our subregion. This meeting was notable for bringing together, for the first time, all States members of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS).

In the course of its work the Committee stressed the advantages for all States of the subregion of ratifying international legal instruments on disarmament matters. It recommended that its Bureau play a more committed political role in seeking solutions to crises and conflicts likely to disturb the peace of a member State. It encouraged States in the subregion to pursue and strengthen the democratization process already under way, while respecting and promoting human rights.

Regarding the creation of a permanent inter-State crisis management headquarters, with a view to establishing a subregional peace-keeping force, the Committee recommended transitional measures, including the involvement of ECCAS in the field of security; a study of features and types of crises and conflicts; and the creation of a non-permanent committee of subregional staff offices. It further recommended that the United Nations be asked for assistance to carry out a study on a balanced and gradual reduction of the armed forces, equipment and military budgets of member States. Finally, the Committee adopted a draft non-aggression pact between the ECCAS member States and decided to submit it to Heads of State or Government of the subregion for signature. As representative of the host country at these important meetings, and on behalf of the States of the subregion, it is my honour and privilege to invite the General Assembly in due course to endorse the draft resolution, which will be submitted to it for consideration.

What is truly at stake for Africa is essentially the economy. It will determine to a great extent the preservation of unity, peace and security on our continent. In that regard, the marginalization of Africa in the world economy - as a result of the decline of its commodity prices, the reversal of financial resource flows from our countries to the international financial institutions, and the debt burden - has only grown during the past five years.

Already experiencing such a restrictive economic environment, how can we in my country welcome the idea of an energy tax and not deplore the threat of a boycott of our forest products by ecological groups in the industrialized countries? As to the forest, the Gabon authorities have always favoured the long-term management of our forests, through a logical policy of reforestation conforming with the recommendations of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

My country stresses the need to maintain every aspect of the Rio spirit aimed at managing world problems in a global manner, and to promote the emergence of a new partnership in international economic and financial relations. Gabon considers this new approach to be a possible avenue for the development of our countries.

In this connection, we would like to congratulate the Japanese authorities on their initiative in organizing the International Conference on African Development, scheduled to be held in Tokyo in October. We hope that Conference will serve as the basis for a real and lasting partnership.

In this context, the proposal made by the President of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session in his opening address that we create an agenda for development should enjoy the full support of our Organization.

In conclusion, turning to our country's development problems, I feel that I must draw the attention of the Assembly to the decisive role to be played by women. Our Organization has adopted resolutions and declarations on this subject. The political commitment has been made, but it must be associated with consistent follow-up measures to implement these provisions. This is a struggle that we must all of us become involved in.

Anxious to take into account the role of women in the political, economic, social and cultural fields, the Gabonese Government, through the Ministry responsible for the status of women, is working towards making this commitment a reality.

The sessions of the General Assembly are for Member States an excellent opportunity to seek together ways and means of attaining the noble objectives of the Charter. Is not one of its most important goals

> "To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character"?

Mrs. de St. JORRE (Seychelles) *(interpretation from French):* I too would like to extend to Ambassador Insanally the congratulations of Seychelles on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly. We wish him every possible success in carrying out his duties.

Allow me also to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts in seeking solutions to the many problems facing the international community.

Our session is opening on a note of hope, because it is taking place only a few days after a historic event of exceptional importance. I am referring, of course, to the signing of the peace agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization. May that negotiation provide a lesson in those areas where misunderstanding, hatred and conflicts of interest are still bringing suffering to so many.

The dramatic events and the human tragedy that are taking place in hotbeds of tension throughout the world are a credit to no one. However, we must take note of the fact that while reaction has been passive and hesitant in some cases, it has been quick and resolute in others.

The quest for peace is nevertheless at the centre of our concerns. The considerable financial resources our Organization devotes to peace-keeping missions or missions to restore peace demonstrate this. This is undoubtedly proof of our own determination to bring to a halt these conflicts, which result in so many victims and destroy all the achievements of development.

Indeed, any lasting development necessarily implies efforts to thwart the threat of certain situations turning into open conflict.

For us island States, the seas are a source of life. Our future depends mainly on them. And for our development to be truly lasting, we must have peace on the seas.

While it is indisputable that old rivalries have subsided in the seas and oceans of the world, it nevertheless remains true that the Indian Ocean has always been coveted by all. And that is why we reiterate our request that the Indian Ocean become truly a zone of peace and cooperation to the benefit of coastal States. The concept of the Colombo Conference is perhaps something from a bygone era, but its objectives remain relevant today.

Members will find it easy to understand, therefore, why we attach such great importance to the implementation of resolution 47/59 of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly calling for the organization by the Ad Hoc Committee of a meeting that would propose new alternative approaches leading to the achievement of the goals contained in the initial Declaration, taking into account the changing international situation.

It is in this spirit that I should like to make an appeal to the countries which have not yet done so to ratify the Convention on the Law of the Sea so that we can get the necessary 60 ratifications for its entry into force. How are we to understand that such an important Convention has been endorsed by only 56 countries since 1982? Of course, we do appreciate the importance of what is at stake, but international solidarity must be our guide.

The International Olympic Committee would like to revive the ancient tradition of the Olympic truce and declare 1994 the International Year of Sports and of the Olympic Spirit, and we should support that proposal. Let us not underestimate the values of the Olympic spirit. They are rich in potential applications for managing international relations.

But no peace can be lasting while the causes of conflicts remain. These causes are selfishness, intolerance, xenophobia, discrimination and dictatorship, but also - and especially - poverty, poor management and excessive indebtedness. These are ills that generally lead to the emergence of new conflicts. Should we not attack the root cause rather than the effect?

A few years ago, financial backers made democratization one of the prerequisites for assistance to developing countries, and as a bonus to democracy, certain countries benefited from the generosity of the international community because they had pioneered that approach. Today, most of our countries have embarked on the process of democratization - with varied results, admittedly - but the desire to fit into the new order was the underlying reason for all. Nevertheless, this new process, and I would take the case of the Republic of Seychelles, which has met this challenge calmly and successfully, inevitably entailed extrabudgetary expenditures in all areas, both economic and social.

While it is true that the transition to democracy is something which is very valuable in and of itself, the establishment of new structures and the implementation of new rules have nevertheless been a source of additional costs which have placed a heavy burden on national budgets that were already fairly shaky. And almost everywhere, the implementation of this democratization process required the support of the international community. Is this not an objective reason to think about setting up a United Nations special fund to provide financial and logistical support for these reforms?

To be viable, this democratic undertaking must seek to meet all the challenges of a country. If it is to ensure the continuation of these new institutions, it must pave the way for sustainable development commensurate with the aspirations of peoples.

Thus, with the advent of the Third Republic, our country is today in a new stage of its history. For more than 18 months, within the context of a constituent commission, reforms have been undertaken that will produce a new Constitution and lead to free and democratic elections. In other words, for a year and a half national activity has been slowed, and even brought to a halt in some cases, while the fundamental economic problems remain.

The Seychelles has been the scene of another momentous event, the Fourth Indian Ocean Games, which took place last August in conditions that were judged exceptional. Reverting to what I was saying, I would note that the cost of the infrastructure for those Games made serious inroads into the national budget.

One might wonder how a small island country was able to engage in such a programme of reforms for 18 months in such circumstances. We are proud of having succeeded, but the economy must be restimulated immediately if we do not wish to lose all the social and political benefits that were achieved.

I should like now to take up the problem of the small island States, of whose fragility everyone here is aware. We are countries whose reduced size is the source of innumerable constraints on economic and social development, such as chronic deficits in trade balances and balances of payment, the high cost of social infrastructures in relation to their utilization and, especially, the excessive indebtedness caused by a lack of funds to finance investment programmes. The convergence of those factors has only exacerbated the fragility of our economies, which, generally speaking, are based on one or two sectors such as tourism and fishing.

That is the daily lot of the Seychelles and other small island States, which, with courage, perseverance and intelligence, are nevertheless attempting to find solutions that will enable them to promote the economic and social well-being of their peoples. Thus we believe that it is quite fitting to draw the international community's attention once again to the need to establish specific programmes and mechanisms that would make it possible for our island countries to move towards sustainable development. We ask that the same facilities that are made available to the least developed, landlocked countries be made available to us.

In any event, per capita income, always put forward as a criterion for level of development, cannot be relevant for small island States because it is distorted by the small size of their populations. Has any thought been given to the per capita cost of infrastructures or the per capita debt? We believe that such an analysis would result in the reconsideration of many decisions.

Of course, it is up to us, first of all, to take every measure to ensure the sustainability of our development by preserving, in so far as possible, our environment, which lies at the basis of all our export products. Despite all these constraints, we have been able - thanks to the judiciousness of our choices and our economic decisions - to achieve tangible results. But the international community's support, which we had been promised in Rio, did not materialize.

Today, all of the developing countries are in a precarious situation. They are confronted with many challenges: the poverty of millions of human beings, high rates of infant mortality, famine, the destruction of the environment and fratricidal wars. But these challenges are not insurmountable. What is required is courage and international solidarity.

It is more than ever the duty of the United Nations once again to draw the attention of the developed countries to the effects which the continuation of such a situation might have on our economies and our cultures - in a word, on our future, but also on theirs.

We would like concrete action, because we do not wish to have to deplore again the inertia of speeches or declarations of intent. While new conflicts arise, the old ones persist almost everywhere and the scope of the disasters is tremendous. Hence, we must react quickly, because many peoples have suffered far too much from the horrors of war.

Above all, the major Powers, the guarantors of the security and regulation of the world economic situation, must give the United Nations the means to carry out its policies.

Finally, we sincerely hope that the current session will generate the necessary impetus to resolve all our concerns, so that peace, at last restored, can create a climate conducive to development.

The meeting rose at 8.20 p.m.